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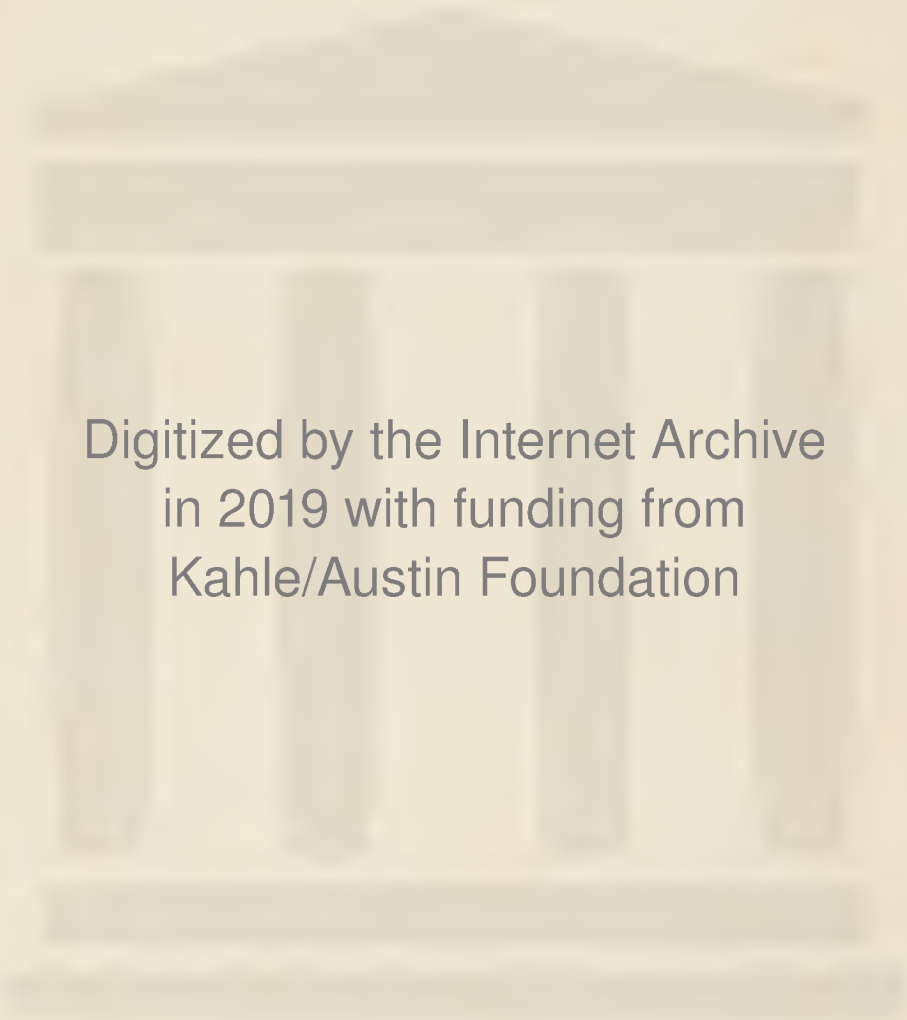
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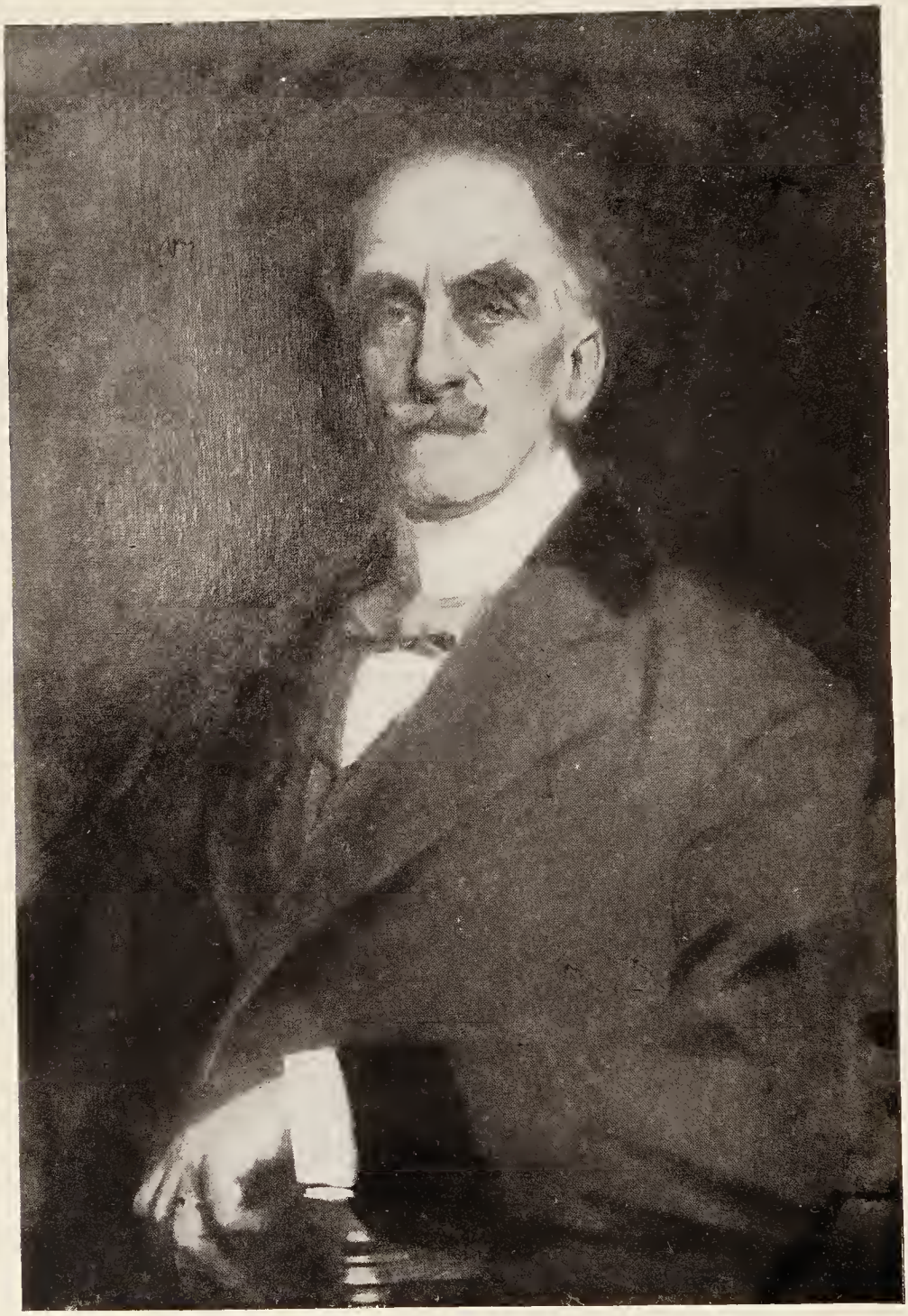

Picture by J. Quinn.

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY.

[*Frontispiece*, I

MEMOIRS

BY

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY

VOL. I

FIFTH EDITION

WITH 32 ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
HUTCHINSON & CO.
PATERNOSTER ROW

DA 566.9. F5 A3 v.1

TO THE INCORRUPTIBLE MEMORY

OF

SPENCER COMPTON, 8TH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

Printed in Great Britain by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld.
London and Aylesbury.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I WAS born November 12th, 1851, of the marriage of Francis Horatio FitzRoy and Gertrude Duncombe, daughter of William, 2nd Lord Feversham, and Louisa his wife, daughter of the 8th Earl of Galloway and Lady Jane Paget, sister of the Marquess of Anglesey, of Peninsular and Waterloo fame. My father was the only son of Admiral Lord William FitzRoy, K.C.B., sixth son of Augustus Henry, 3rd Duke of Grafton, 1st Lord of the Treasury 1766–1770, and his second wife, Elizabeth Wrottesley, a name which stands in the roll of the first Knights of the Garter in the fourteenth century, and was borne by a President of the Royal Society in the nineteenth.

Lord William entered the Royal Navy in the first year of the war with Revolutionary France, and took part on his twelfth birthday, as a midshipman on board the "Queen Charlotte," in Lord Howe's victory of the 1st of June, and in the following year served on board the "Sans Pareil," bearing the flag of Lord Hugh Seymour in Lord Bridport's action off L'Orient, receiving at the end of the war the naval medal with five clasps. His name still lived forty years after his death, as, in recording the decease of Admiral Sir Robert O'Brien FitzRoy, "The Westminster Gazette" described him as: "fearless, self-willed, rough-spoken, kindly-hearted, he not a little resembled his relative, Lord William FitzRoy, likewise a distinguished Admiral," and the same paper, in mentioning my father's death, referred to "his illustrious sailor father." Love of the sea was indeed an inheritance from the 1st Duke of Grafton, whose life I have had the honour to write, and exhibited itself conspicuously in the brief career of his grandson Lord Augustus (1716–41), Lord William's grandfather. It is stated in Charnock's "Biogarphia Navalis" that "appointed Captain of the 'Eltham,' 40, November 2nd, 1736, when only twenty, he was promoted to the 'Orford,' 74, after the seizure off the coast of Spain of a valuable merchant ship, which he brought safely into Portsmouth, and on a subsequent cruise with two other frigates captured, after a very desperate resistance, the 'Princessa,' which, though mounting only 70 guns, was considerably larger than any of the British First-rates. During the ensuing season he served under Sir J. Norris in the Channel Fleet, but on the approach of

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winter he was ordered to the West Indies with Sir Chaloner Ogle to reinforce Admiral Vernon. Meeting four large French ships of war, he, with three others, was ordered to give chase, and when the French Commander, Commodore Marq. d'Aubin, refused to bring to, his lordship without hesitation gave him a broadside, which being instantly returned brought on a general action, no war having been declared between England and France. After fighting for some hours the French ceased firing, and the British ships followed suit, and apologies were exchanged for the *mistake*" !

The " Orford " was subsequently detached for the attack on Cartagena, and was one of the ships ordered into the harbour, five days after which its commander fell a victim to the climate at the early age of twenty-four !

Interest in the Navy evinces itself strongly in the life of his son the 3rd Duke, as is clear from some unpublished correspondence with a relative, Admiral Cosby, now in my possession, and by the disclosure in his autobiography of definite views as to the management of the Admiralty, which led the editor, the late Sir William Anson, to declare that " it was unfortunate for him and for the country " when, on the retirement of Hawke, George III gave his place to Sandwich, whom he disliked having about him as Secretary of State.

My father's own tastes were more in the direction of soldiering, but his only opportunity of gratifying them lay in becoming a keen and efficient officer of the Queen's Own Oxfordshire Yeomanry, which was commanded for many years by his cousin the late Lord Churchill. As an obituary notice of him truly said, his interests lay in social questions, and his life was essentially that of a country gentleman. He was for a long time Chairman of the Aldershot Beneh of Magistrates, and became a Deputy-Lieutenant for the county at the special request of Lord Northbrook, then Lord-Lieutenant. His only tie with the Navy was an almost life-long connection with the Royal Naval Female School, upon the Committee of which he served first as Honorary Secretary, and then as Chairman for many years.

I received my school education at Cheam, where I had as schoolfellows Randolph Churchill, the late Lord Donoughmore, and his brother Walter Hutchinson, and Stafford Howard, all gone : the only survivors I can recall are Lord Ormonde and Lord Aberdeen, then Arthur Butler and John Gordon. My time there was cut short at the end of the second year by an acute attack of rheumatic fever which left its mark upon the heart for years, and through early manhood precluded the indulgence in physical exercises of any severity. It had, however, the effect of giving me a taste for literary pursuits, which proved of great value when I entered Balliol in the autumn of 1870 at the

beginning of Professor Jowett's mastership, to whom I was indebted for much kindness and hospitality. Among my contemporaries were Mr. Asquith, Lord Milner, Sir Herbert Warren, the late Lord Elgin, Bishop Gore, the late Duke of Bedford, Charles Whitmore, for a long time M.P. for Chelsea, Lord Ernle, Lord Stuart of Wortley, the late Lord St. Audries (years after best man on my marriage), W. H. Mallock, Churton Collins, Sir Charles Lucas, the late Lord Winchilsea, and Sir Francis Elliot. The memory of Jowett's dinners embalms recollections of George Eliot and G. H. Lewes, Sir R. Morier, Professor Huxley, Swinburne, and Bishop Colenso. Of the first-named I recall an interesting discourse on the methods followed in the creation of her characters: she repudiated any conscious portraiture, but attributed their being to the gradual accumulation of impressions, a point here and a trait there, which finally emerged under the guise of an organic whole. Lewes's vanity was such that he was always seeking to absorb the interest of the company by drawing attention to himself instead of allowing it to concentrate on the lady whose leonine countenance was in curious contrast to the softness of her voice. Our host's aptitude in dealing with any situation was well illustrated, when one night, toward the end of dinner, Sir R. Morier was regaling the company with some anecdote which involved more freedom of speech than was perhaps decorous in the presence of undergraduates at the Master's table; whereupon Jowett rose from his seat, saying, "Morier, shall we pursue this subject with the ladies?" One Sunday I was modestly waiting to take my place, when I found all the chairs appropriated; one, however, was crammed in next to Huxley, which caused me much gratification, as he readily forgave the intrusion and was most interesting and agreeable. He told me he never came to Oxford without attending a university sermon!

The pulpit at that time enjoyed considerable prestige; there was heard the Irish eloquence of Magee and Alexander, the fervid sonorities of H. P. Liddon, and the chastened and scholarly rhetoric of Arthur Stanley, whose quiet manner and perfect articulation often produced more effect than the shining qualities of others. Jowett's fastidious style was better suited to the College Chapel, with its moderation and restraint enlivened by caustic touches, as when he labelled a certain class of religious people "children of God and children in every sense of the word."

Among those I met in Jowett's house I must not omit Colonel John Stanley and his bride (now Lady St. Helier), then in the first bloom of her vivid and impressive personality. I was a member of the Canning Club, at whose conferences I read two or three papers and took a prominent share in founding the Devor-

guilla Debating Society, which still flourishes as a peculiarly Balliol institution. I subscribed, too, to the movement initiated by Ruskin to do honour to manual labour, and was one of those present at his celebrated inaugural breakfast, when we had the delight of imbibing the enchantments of the Seer's discourse. Road-making at Hinksey, whieh led nowhere, was enlivened by the professor's presence and approval, and with no tiresome purpose about the business, an effective protest against utilitarianism was at least placed on record.

Slices of two long vacations were given to reading-parties, the first in 1871, at Patterdale, on the shores of Ullswater, when I made the ascent of Helvellyn ; Mr. Marshall of Patterdale Hall, at one time M.P. for Cumberland, placed a large boat at our service, and such recreation as we enjoyed was largely given to sailing, rarely without plenty of wind. Two years after Charles Whitmore and Lindsay Smith joined me in a more ambitious enterprise, which included some six weeks in the Pyrenees. After a few days at Lisieux, a charmingly picturesque Norman town, we went south, arresting our steps at Le Mans, Tours, and Nantes. The first three weeks among the mountains were given to Gavarnie, beneath the noble cirque which bears its name, and here I reached the summit of Pimené, 9,000 feet, my greatest achievement in mountaineering and, I am bound to add, a very easy one. Ten days followed in a lonely hut upon the shores of the Lac de Gaube, a scene of the most savage desolation, under the shadow of the pinnacled Vignemale, the third in altitude of Pyrenean heights ; the depressing effects of these days were effaced by a week at Argelez, in a delightful hotel among the foothills, where the Gave de Pau enters the open plain. Visits to Cauterets and Lourdes formed features of the tour and the last-named left on the mind a strong impression of the hold which the miraculous still has upon the countrymen of Voltaire, and the judicious way in which it is manipulated by the genius of the Catholic Church. My university life came to an end in December 1874, when I obtained a first-class in History and was subsequently gratified to learn through my examiners (Professor Stubbs, J. R. Green, the historian of the English People, and Kitchin, afterwards Dean of Durham) that it was the best of the batch, a result I owed largely to the tutorship of Dr. Franck Bright, afterwards Master of University College, and a term or two of coaching at the hands of the Rev. A. H. Johnson, Fellow of All Souls.

The early part of the ensuing year was passed abroad. After a few days in Paris, I spent some weeks at Cannes as the guest of Mr. Raikes Currie, at the Villa Beaulieu, overlooking on one side the gardens of Lord Brougham's villa, and on the other in close proximity to the castellated pomps of the Duc de Vallombrosa. There I met the Tankervilles and their two daughters ;

the younger of whom, Lady Ida, later to become Lady Dalhousie and to suffer an early doom within a few hours of her husband's death, was one of the loveliest girls it has ever been my pleasure to see. Years afterwards I remember her telling me that her father was the best-looking man she had known, and from what I can recall of his appearance at sixty-five, I am inclined to think she was right.

On leaving Cannes I joined my brother-in-law, the late Colonel Lloyd-Anstruther, M.P. (1886–92) for the Woodbridge Division of Suffolk, for a trip to the Italian Lakes, and after a day or two at Genoa and Milan, respectively, we spent a week at Cadenabbia, where we incurred some risk in ascending the mountain behind that place; by some means we missed the track and lost ourselves on the north side, which was blocked with snow and presented other difficulties we were not equipped to meet. However, we finally got through, though we occupied the whole day over it, with very insufficient nourishment in our haversacks for such an effort, and reached the hotel as night was falling, and no little concern for our safety began to manifest itself.

We had decided to cross the St. Gothard, no small enterprise, when winter still reigned in the pass, and I shall never forget the ascent from Airolo in a small open sleigh along a zigzag track, where the horse was left to do as it liked while the man in charge went up steps cut at the base of each triangle. The cold was intense, and the frozen snow blown off the track whipped the skin like a lash. Upon the descent into Switzerland we flew as the wind and swept through Andermatt, half buried in snow, at a most exhilarating speed. Lower, we changed into a covered sleigh of a top-heavy type, and unsuited to a track where the snow was in places worn away. At one such spot we were jolted off the road and nearly capsized, having to jump out and run round to the off-side in order to arrest a fall down the precipitous incline into the river which roared below. By a great effort we righted the clumsy craft and reached Lucerne in safety. We left for Basle the next day, and so home.

The rest of the year I spent mainly with a barrister in King's Bench Walk, reading law in prospect of an examination for an All Souls fellowship, for which I made a bid in November. There was only one offered, and that was very properly given to my friend Rowland Prothero, now Lord Ernle. In the following spring I was appointed to an Inspectorship of Schools under the Education Department of the Privy Council, an office I held for seven years and a half. My duties lay in Wiltshire, with headquarters at Salisbury, where I was only fifty miles from my father's place in Hampshire, whither I was able to go for the end of each week and have a day's hunting with Mr. Garth's hounds; later, when I had two horses, I managed, what with

odd days and intervals devoted to paper work, to enjoy on an average three days a fortnight. This came to an end after the season of 1878–9, in the early part of which I had a bad accident; a delightful but excitable horse I bought of Granville Farquhar had a tussle with me on the line to be taken with the hounds at their first find, so as to avoid the crowd, in process of which I was precipitated into a deep dyke with the horse on the top of me, and it was only by his intelligence in struggling to his feet without doing me any injury that I came out alive, and upon my emerging he completed the courtesy by trotting up to me as quiet and keen as possible. Some months afterwards I was discovered to have a return of the heart-weakness which was the legacy of rheumatic fever, and Dr. Wilson Fox insisted on my ceasing work for three months. A part of June I spent yachting with Spencer Chapman, on board whose boat, aptly named "La Boulotte," I sailed from Plymouth to Roscoff on the opposite coast of Brittany, a place bound up with the fortunes of the Royal House of Stuart, as it was here that Mary Queen of Scots was landed on her flight to France, and here also, two centuries later, that Charles Edward came as a refugee after the disaster of Culloden. Thence we wended our way eastward to Dinard, along a coast which presented a never-failing picture of sheer promontories, deep-set inlets, and weird groups of rocky isles, and so well lit that in clear weather you were never at a loss to mark your place upon the chart.

In July, by the good offices of Sir W. Houston Stewart, the Controller of the Navy, I went to Gibraltar on board the "Agincourt," as the guest of Admiral Waddilove, second in command of the Channel Fleet, which at that time had been in the Mediterranean since the eastern crisis of the previous year, and now was returning to home waters under the command of Lord John Hay, from whom Waddilove had been detached to bring out the ships of the reserve squadron for their summer cruise. I could not have been more fortunate in the captain of the ship, later Admiral Sir Alexander Buller, a most popular officer, a very competent seaman and a most cheery companion, in whose cabin I spent a great deal of time. On reaching Gibraltar I was duly presented to Lord John Hay at an evening party in the Convent gardens, and subsequently dined with him on board the "Minotaur," thus laying the foundations of a friendship that lasted to the end of his life. I also brought letters of introduction to Captain Fremantle, and dined with him on board the "Lord Warden": he is now Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B., Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom and *doyen* of the British Navy.

We started on the return voyage thirteen ironclads in three divisions, but at Lagos, a Portuguese port which lies between

the ever-consecrated waters of Trafalgar and Cape St. Vincent, and gave its name to Boscawen's victory of August 1759, the "Shannon" was ordered to the Pacific by telegram from the Admiralty. I went on board with Buller to say good-bye to the captain, and I shall never forget his distress, as he had been married just before the two years spent in the Mediterranean, and his hopes of at last seeing his wife were annihilated by sentence to another three years' exile at the other side of the globe.

The voyage up the west coast of the peninsula was full of interest and charm, as our course lay near enough to take in much of its beauty, especially off the mouth of the Tagus with the historic Tower of Belem and the castled crag of Cintra overlooking its gardens and orangeries. We entered the hill-girt Bay of Vigo, and lay for a couple of days with the beautiful prospect of its hinterland before our eyes. I made an excursion into the interior with some of my shipmates, a country rich in natural graces and peopled by as fine a race of men and women as I have seen in Europe; every woman had beauty, and both sexes were distinguished by a dignity of manner which bore the impress of good breeding.

On leaving the bay we were hampered by fog, but Lord John extricated us from a critical situation without accident, though, as I was in my bath, I saw the "Warrior's" bowsprit above our stern walk. Later, when we were in the open sea, where distance was maintained by gunfire from the leading ship of each division, Lord John took the risk of changing course by signal, when it appeared as time passed that the port division, led by the "Hercules" (Captain Howard), had not understood the order, and the attention of the ship was called to the lapse, this time with due effect, as, the fog lifting not long afterwards, the peccant division was seen bearing up on a course which in a few minutes would have brought it into the middle of the other lines, when disaster must have ensued. We reached Plymouth without further incident, where the Fleet broke up and I disembarked. I parted from Buller with great regret, and saw little of him in after-years, but I recall his death at the close of a day's hunting, at the age of eighty.

In August 1880 I was drawn by the glamour of the sea to join in the hire of a 60-ton cutter with Erny Beckett [1] and Adolphus Duncombe, Granville Milner having some share in its earlier phases. At the close of Cowes week we made for Cherbourg, which was to be the theatre of some festivities, and were overtaken by a most violent gale, in which, we learnt later, the "Sunbeam" suffered heavily. After battling with its fury for some hours, we wisely put back and reached Cowes in the morning without losing a spar. On making known our decision to start

[1] Later M.P. for the Whitby division and subsequently Lord Grimthorpe.

for the west the same evening, we were met by a mutiny of two Cowes men, who had no stomach for the rough side of seafaring, whereupon we stripped them of their outfit, which was ours, and put them ashore, and, though very short-handed, left for Plymouth according to our intention. There we shipped two west-country hands, and prolonged the cruise to Padstow on the north coast of Cornwall, where I had the opportunity of seeing Tintagel and Boscastle and enjoyed very hospitable treatment from the owner of Prideaux Place. On the return voyage, we lay for a day at Penzance, and had luncheon with the St. Aubyns at St. Michael's Mount, quite the most impressive feature of the coast.

In August 1881 I was again at sea for a trip to Holland with Spencer Chapman, in the " Boulotte." Leaving Ramsgate in the evening, we were off the Hook the following night, when by some mistake due to being deceived by the masthead light of an outgoing steamer, we got on the wrong side of the pier at the entrance of the canal and had to anchor in a hurry. It was lucky we did so, as at daylight there were disclosed the masts of sunken vessels in every direction. We left the yacht at Rotterdam and spent some days in exploring Amsterdam, Haarlem, and The Hague, and on rejoining, chartered a steamer to take us up to Dort, whence we had a delightful sail down the Waal to Willemestad, an old fortification of Cohorn, with traces about it of a great inundation in the fifteenth century, of which we acquired some relics. Thence we pursued the course of the river to Tholen, where we struck the eastern arm of the Scheldt, and crossing the island of S. Beveland by a narrow canal along which we were drawn by a horse, entered the western arm, and with a fair wind, on a Sunday morning, had a clipping sail to Terneuzen, to the delight of a crowd of trippers on an Antwerp steamer. Here we entered the canal for Ghent, and were towed to that city and Bruges, finally emerging at Ostend. Thence we had hoped to go west, and got as far as Dunkirk, where we spent a night, but contrary winds and fogs (we passed a sleepless night in the most crowded part of the Channel to the ceaseless music of fog-horns) so held us up that we abandoned the struggle and disembarked at Dover.

My work as an Inspector continued without a break till January 1883, when I spent the month with my cousin, Lady Eleanor Harbord, at Biarritz, whence we made excursions to Pau, Cambo, and Fuenterrabia, the last full of the incantations of mediæval Spain. I gave myself a day's hunting with the Biarritz hounds, for which I was furnished with the most hard-mouthed brute I ever rode. The ground was slippery from frost and there was no great prospect of sport; but my day was brought to an early end by the animal bolting into an impenetrable *maquis*,

from which I did not extricate myself until the hounds had got beyond call. Lady Ailesbury's Moorish villa, where I was very courteously received, was the only house at Biarritz I remember with pleasure.

At the end of February 1884 I was transferred by Lord Carlingford to the Office at Whitehall, in the position of a Junior Examiner, an official with a good deal of responsibility, before whom the papers connected with the reports of the Inspectorate came for the determination of annual grants and through whose hands all the correspondence of the office passed. At the change of Government in 1885, Mr. Edward Stanhope, who became Vice-President of the Council, with a seat in the Cabinet, appointed me his Private Secretary, and on his promotion in the autumn I retained the post with Sir Henry Holland; but not for long, as the Ministry were defeated on the Address in January 1886.

Mr. Gladstone's ill-starred Home Rule Government came into being only to fall in the ensuing summer upon the rejection of his Bill by the House of Commons. On the eve of the division I saw Elcho, now Lord Wemyss, as I was leaving the office, and found him very depressed at the probable result; I ventured to bet £2 that the Government would be in a minority of 20–30, the last-named figure proving the exact number by which they lost the Bill. In the new Ministry I resumed my old place with Sir H. Holland. Randolph Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, was to make a great speech in the autumn at St. George's Hall, Bradford, for which he was to be the guest of Ernest Beckett at Kirkstall, and thither I went with my uncle Feversham to meet him. The occasion was memorable as the last upon which Lord Randolph appeared on the platform before his breach with Lord Salisbury, and it was the only opportunity I ever had of hearing a statesman of the first rank address a mass meeting. The impression I carried away was so enduring that twenty years later I was able to give a vivid account of it to Winston Churchill in the course of an afterdinner conversation at Crewe House.

Lord Randolph's resignation led to another change of chief as, in the shuffle that ensued, Sir H. Holland, who was created Lord Knutsford a year later, went to the Colonial Office, and was succeeded by Sir William Dyke, with whom I remained for six sessions. As with all my chiefs, I had the good fortune to enjoy his close confidence, and, as he gave me to think, was of great help to him in the issues he had to handle, both in the office and on the floor of the House of Commons. His success was as marked in one place as the other.

It was then that I first came in touch with Lyulph Stanley, still, I am happy to say, alive at the age of eighty-five under the honoured name of Lord Sheffield. Sir William Dyke had heard

from Stanley that Mr. Mundella had criticised with much severity one of his administrative acts, which he alleged was at variance with a declaration made by Mundella when he was the official mouthpiece of the Education Department, and asked me to explain the matter; whereupon I informed Mr. Stanley that when Mundella was Vice-President he was allowed to say what he liked, so long as within the office he did what he was told. A few days later Sir William imparted to me that Mundella had laid hold of him in the lobby and said with asperity, "Your private secretary is a very impudent fellow."

Sir William's term of office was both busy and important, as it fell to him to introduce Free Education, which excited suspicion on the Tory benches for the effect it might have on the finance of voluntary schools, and the changes he made in the code gave it a freedom and elasticity which amounted to a revolution. He was also responsible for the Technical Education Act, another signal step forward, which was hailed with delight on his own side, as it was the first statute that admitted the principle of rate aid to what came to be called unprovided schools. This could not have been carried without the support of the Irish Catholics, with whom I negotiated a concordat directly through Cardinal Manning. The passing of this Act brought me into very pleasant relations with the late Lord Bath, whom I had known a little in Wiltshire, his school at Horningsham, close to Longleat, being the last I inspected. In his capacity as Lord-Lieutenant he had to make a speech at Swindon upon the subject, and asked Sir William to refer him to someone who could give him the necessary material. Sir William sent him to me, and I took great trouble in collecting and tabulating all the information available, and added some suggestions suitable to assist the speaker in the task he had undertaken. In reply I had from Lord Bath a most grateful letter, reserving his opinion upon one or two points, but making a most ungrudging acknowledgment of the pains I had been at to give him just what he wanted.

The first year of my association with Sir William Dyke was also that of my marriage with Katharine, daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Farquhar, and granddaughter of the late Speaker of the House of Commons, now Viscount Hampden. A son was born in July 1889 and a daughter in October 1891. In the autumn of 1888 we paid a visit to Ireland, passing some time at Classibawn, the Irish home of my wife's uncle, Evelyn Ashley, situated upon an inlet at the head of Donegal Bay. Here I had a chance of sailing upon altogether new waters, and on a day which opened well crossed the bay to Killybegs, a lovely harbour on the Donegal coast, girt with mountains. A sudden change in the weather brought up a strong wind from the Atlantic, and the passage back to Bundoran proved very rough, much to my wife's dis-

comfort; but I can never recall without gratitude the gentleness and courtesy of the Irish fishermen, and the assiduity, which was almost tender, bestowed on making her as easy as circumstances permitted. This stay in the wild west was also memorable for the last cricket-match in which I took part, as Wilfred Ashley led a team to Lissadell, the home of the Gore Booths, where I distinguished myself by making double figures against the demon bowling of Le Fanu, a relation of the author of "Uncle Silas." One of the daughters of the house has since earned notoriety under the name of the Countess Markievicz.

In 1889 we spent some part of the summer at Dinard with the Spencer Chapmans, which included a trip to Roscoff and Morlaix in a small steam-yacht; from Morlaix we made an excursion into the heart of Finistère on the road to Carhaix, through the lovely valley of St. Herbot, of which I have a sketch, and on the way back to Dinard explored the Iles de Bréhat, a curious archipelago of fantastic shapes—Paimpol, with an authentic fifteenth-century house and, just outside, the Premonstratensian Abbey of Beauport, founded in 1202 by Alain C^te^ de Penthièvre—and Tréguier, the birthplace of Renan, the cathedral of which he describes, in the "Souvenirs d'Enfance," as a "chef-d'œuvre de légèreté, fol essai pour réaliser en granit un idéal impossible." At Tréguier we came in for a regatta, which was conspicuous for the smart handling of the boats engaged. The Breton fisherman is as good at the job as his Celtic *confrère* on the west coast of Ireland. It was on this trip that I discovered a mural tablet recording the death of an old lady of eighty-eight, the inscription on which concluded: "Elle fut remarquable par sa chasteté pendant les dernières années de sa vie."

In the summer of 1890 we passed some time, the first of many subsequent visits, at Brahan Castle, the almost legendary seat of the Mackenzies of Seaforth, then held for her brother, the Chieftain, by Julia Lady Tweeddale. The house was shorn of its features as a fortress, as an act of vengeance, by Marshal Wade after the '45; but it stands among delightful woods and gardens upon the banks of the Conan, not far from its estuary at Dingwall, and commands enchanting views of beautiful scenery far and near, with the heights of Strathconan bounding the vision up the river to the west. The following year, after another stay at Dinard, I joined a party at Bransdale Lodge for four days' grouse-driving on my uncle Lord Feversham's moors in Bransdale and Farndale, which occupy the loveliest section of the great stretch of moorland, extending across North Yorkshire from Whitby to the Vale of Mowbray. The day is too distant for me to recall many of my companions, of whom I believe I am the only survivor; but the party was a very pleasant one, and the sport excellent. A feature of the drives on one side of Farndale was unique, as a

mineral railway skirted the western wing of the several lines of boxes, and at the end of each drive we piled arms on a trolley and, with our loaders, were carried down by gravitation to the point of debarkation, sometimes at break-neck speed round sharp curves—altogether a most exciting episode in the day's amusement.

A general election took place in 1892, and it was no small achievement on the part of Lord Salisbury's Ministry that, in the seventh year of its existence, after all the calumny and misrepresentation which every Government has in turn to put up with, it returned to Westminster in a minority of only forty, thus proving that the " predominant partner " still retained its objection to Home Rule. However, that was enough for the immediate purpose, and for the ensuing years I was divorced from active connection with politics and returned to my ordinary work in the Education Department.

Mr. Gladstone's third Administration set no mark on history, and Lord Rosebery, who followed, was not in a position, with all his brilliant talents, to make good his claims, owing to domestic differences in the Liberal Party. Mr. Acland's educational work and Sir William Harcourt's finance were perhaps the most conspicuous results to be placed to the credit of these years, when a defeat in Committee of Supply on the provision of cordite abruptly brought the Ministry to an end.

Lord Salisbury's third Administration ensued, and the Duke of Devonshire, who took the office of Lord President, to which for a time were attached duties in connection with the newly formed Committee of Defence, leading one journal to describe him grandiloquently as Lord High Constable, did me the honour to make me his departmental private secretary, on the introduction of my wife's uncle, Lord Hampden—an association which I am proud to say survived office and only closed with the Duke's life.

The new Government were not unduly confident in the results of the general election now imminent, as on the first occasion of my having luncheon at Devonshire House I remember the Duke saying he did not see where their majority was to be obtained, to which I replied, " I am bold enough to predict that your minority in the late Parliament will be wiped out in London alone "—a forecast which proved correct.

My initiation into the functions and powers of the Privy Council was full of interest, and found me an apt pupil, so far as the history of that body was concerned. Its real importance, as Bishop Stubbs once said, is to be traced to the minority of Henry III, and it is not too much to say that all later administrative growth is due to the gradual distribution of its capital duties among highly specialised departments of State. It is the

fashion to denounce bureaucracy, but it is merely the product—some may say the abuse—of Parliament's resolve to control the Executive.

There is, however, a vast amount of public misapprehension concerning the Privy Council which might well be corrected by a study of the processes by which its historic continuity is preserved, and by a scrutiny of the relevant facts under the various aspects through which it still plays a considerable part in the administrative economy of the day. The time is long past when "the Committee of the Privy Council" could truthfully be described as a "body of unlimited competence," but the matters referred to it have not lost all trace of the multifarious energies whereby it was once distinguished.

The history of the Privy Council goes far to justify Tocqueville's observation that "Forms are the fortress of liberty."

At this point I may cite what is said in my preface to the fifth volume of the Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series) 1613–1783 of the little change which the forms of the Privy Council have undergone for the last three centuries, as an illustration of the British method. "Changes in the spirit and intention of policy have thus been masked to those who witnessed its development. The timorous adherent of time-worn prepossessions has consoled himself with the preservation of customary processes, and the reckless innovator has had his ideas deprived of their danger by being forced into the mould of a slowly accumulated tradition."

Throughout the long period when few institutions rested on unassailable foundations, the right of the subject to invoke the King in Council and the forms by which that appeal was kept alive were the implicit condemnation of arbitrary rule and the asylum within whose fostering shelter the idea of public rights took shape and authority.

If now become indistinct and attenuated in the light of a personal remedy, the principle survives in the authentic application of the Prerogative to the protection of individual or collective interests.

Machinery for their preservation exists under the Act of William IV for the better administration of justice in H.M.'s Privy Council, whereby the Sovereign in Council may make any matter he thinks fit the subject of special reference to the Judicial Committee, and more generally in the powers of the King in Council to grant Charters of Incorporation covering the whole field of activity in the spheres of Philanthropy, Commerce, Education, and Municipal Government, and to provide by Orders in Council for the omnipresent needs of a growing community.

In dealing with these and cognate matters I had at hand the invaluable advice of Sir Charles Peel, who had occupied the

post of Clerk of the Council for twenty years, and with whom I had long enjoyed the intimacy of personal relations.

The autumn that year included two visits to fresh scenes of remarkable beauty—Corrour, where we were the guests of Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, the dispenser of a most graceful hospitality, at a lodge in the western highlands conspicuous for the exquisite theatre of mountain and lake in which it stands, and Lochnaw Castle, the romantic home of a family which has for centuries been connected, as hereditary Sheriffs, with the county of Wigtown, and is now worthily represented by Sir Andrew and Lady Agnew.

Apart from the demands on his time for the labours of the Defence Committee, of which William Tyrrell was the secretary, two departmental problems elaimed the Duke's early attention. First, the projected change in the University of London, whereby the desire of those who wished to convert it into a great teaching institution might be gratified without compromising the position of external students ; and, secondly, a new Educational Bill for England and Wales, largely with a view to which Sir John Gorst had been given the post of Vice-President of the Council, in consideration of what might be expected from his parliamentary dexterity and personal craft—qualities no doubt admirable in themselves but largely dependent for their effect upon the direction in which they were exercised.

As I said in my contribution to the Life of the Duke : " The relations in those days between a Lord President who was expected to exercise some real control of educational policy and a self-willed Vice-President with ideas of his own and a contempt for mandarins, were likely to prove uncomfortable; but from the first the Duke conquered both the esteem and respect of his critical subordinate. His own view was that the questions agitating controversialists were given a prominence out of all proportion to the interests involved, and he was therefore impatient of the violent and uncompromising passions which retarded a lasting settlement."

I was grateful for the place given to the University question, as it introduced me to Mr. Haldane. Our first interview was due to the suggestion of Mr. Balfour, and began a long series of personal communications and ultimate collaboration for many years in the field of university expansion. It was decided to appoint a Statutory Commission under the Presidency of Lord Davey to deal with the subject, and I have a lively recollection of an incident connected therewith in the relations of the Duke and Lord Salisbury.

The Duke, having apprised the Prime Minister of the proposed composition of the Commission, was told in reply that he had nothing to say against it, but he noticed that it contained none but undenominationalists—which was a little severe, as the list

included the Bishop of London, apart from the consideration that denominational issues were altogether foreign to the subject.

In the preparation of the Education Bill Mr. Balfour himself took part, and at some of the meetings which ensued I was in attendance on behalf of the Duke. It was an immense pleasure to follow the suppleness and ingenuity with which Mr. Balfour pressed his points upon the refractory intelligence of Sir Henry Jenkins, the most impressive figure I can recall in the office of Parliamentary Counsel, and I have not forgotten one moment when Mr. Balfour propounded some mode of getting round a difficulty and suggested that one of Sir Henry's young men could easily find the necessary vehicle, upon which Sir Henry coldly observed that he would not be long in his office if he did.

The whole history of this ill-starred measure, from the negotiations and discussions which preceded its introduction to its brief and embarrassed fortunes in the House of Commons, gave repeated emphasis to the pregnant observation : " C'est par le malentendu universel que tout le monde s'entend."

During Whitsuntide 1896 we joined Spencer Chapman's yacht at Rouen and went up the Seine to Paris. The changing scene upon the river-bank was a perpetual panorama of delight ; the richness and prosperity of the country seemed to have spread a genuine gaiety of heart among the people. We were moored the first night in the centre of rural Normandy, with a *mise-en-scène* that might have been taken from the canvas of Corot, and we passed historic sites such as the Château Gaillard, so graphically commemorated in the impassioned verse of Laurence Binyon, the Château de la Roche Guyon, another mediæval stronghold of stately story, and the house and park of Rosny, the abode of Henry IV's great minister, the Duc de Sully. At Mantes we disembarked and drove through the forest of St. Germain, while the yacht went round the bend of the river and met us below the château of that name, from the terrace of which we had an unforgettable view of Paris spread at our feet. We lay for four days alongside the Champs Elysées, between the Pont de l'Alma and the Pont des Invalides. No more perfect situation from which to explore the city could have been found.

The earlier part of the next year was engrossed by the preparations for the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen, an event which at the moment of the highest emotion stirred popular feeling to a very genuine manifestation of reverence and affection. The mere fact that the memory of hardly a living soul had a grip of events anterior to her reign identified her in a special degree with the calendar of everyone, and her appearance as the first figure of the pageant struck that note of pathos which is inseparable from the contemplation of human life upon any scale of its fortunes.

After these excitements were over, for seven weeks, from July 22nd, we were on board the " Fedora," which Alfred Farquhar had hired from the Duke of Montrose for a cruise to Norway, that extended as far as Hammerfest and included Christiania, Copenhagen, the Kiel Canal, and northern Holland, an experience which glutted the sensibilities of the soul by the overwhelming magnificence of the pageant. For sheer terror I would award the palm to the Lofoten Islands, where you never escaped the brooding sense of some malefic power which nothing could exorcise ; we took on board a man from a boat who looked like the prehistoric legacy of a lost world, and told us we had only a foot of water under our keel. A lovely view down the coast was to be had above Bodö on the hill-side to the north ; but the gloom of many of the fiords excited more awe than admiration, and it was with a feeling of relief I exchanged these prisons of the spirit for the flat surface and remote horizons of Denmark and Friesland.

In the spring of 1898 it was elear that Charles Peel's physical powers were waning, and he told me he had intimated to the Queen his resolve to retire in the summer, but did not wish any public knowledge of the event to get about. The secret was, as a matter of fact, well kept, in spite of evidence that a certain royal lady had given the knowledge away, for at a garden-party at Hatfield Lady Jeune, as she then was, gave me the information, of which I had to feign ignorance.

Before this, however, on finding that Eddy Hamilton's health precluded him from accepting the place, the Duke had told me of his intention to submit my name to Her Majesty, which resulted in the formal approval of my appointment on August 9th, followed by a flood of congratulatory letters which surprised me by their warmth—I had almost said affection.

I had no reason, moreover, to complain of such notice of the event as was taken by the Press. " The Westminster Gazette," in referring to it, remarked, " If he lacks the mingled *bonhomie* and gruff manner of his sailor grandfather, he unites the culture of a Balliol man with the discretion of a Private Secretary and the manners of a courtier," while " The World " was good enough to describe me as " a very capable official," who " has had a good training," adding the observation to which I heartily subscribe : " His wife is a most delightfully clever and bright little person."

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ALMERIC FITZROY

August 9th, 1898.—My appointment as Clerk of the Council was not unexpected, but I am none the less under great obligations to the Duke of Devonshire for this recognition of the services I was able to render him while Private Secretary. It is not the least among the causes I have for self-congratulation that, at any rate, for some time to come I shall not sever relations with a chief, to whose confidence and consideration I shall ever remain indebted, and who brings to the solution of the problems he has to unravel, a judgment the calmness of which is never disturbed, and the sagacity seldom at fault.

August 19th.—I had hardly got away from London when the Colonial Office demanded a Council for the approval of some Maltese Letters Patent. It appeared, however, that notwithstanding the urgency claimed, the Colonial Secretary was not prepared to attend the Council, so I forwarded the request to the Lord President with some comment on this inconsistency, and was relieved to find he shared my view that the matter could wait till the next Council. The wisdom of this decision was vindicated two months later, when it appeared that the letters patent had been withdrawn for further consideration.

October 1st.—My return to London to take up the serious business of my office synchronised with the crisis in our relations with France due to the presence of Major Marchand at Fashoda.

All the confidential news from Paris points to the extreme reluctance of the French Government to give up a point in the game which they had scored by the partial success of an intrigue, without the force to establish themselves securely and in the teeth of the arguments employed in previous controversies with Great Britain.

The idea of a section of the British public that Lord Salisbury's resolution is in need of strengthening, shows very little knowledge of the sagacious statesmanship that is often masked by the play of his placable and pessimistic intelligence.

He has been able to tackle and lay at rest several dangerous

questions, because he has had the wisdom to see and the courage to tell the nation that there are some controversies better closed than kept open until we can enforce extreme rights. With an Empire like ours, concentration of effort should be the watchword of British policy, and it is because Lord Salisbury realises this that he has made of Africa an object lesson of firm and comprehensive management.

October 20th.—During this crisis I attended my first Council at Balmoral, when I had the pleasure of spending two nights with the Carringtons at Abergeldie. In listening to the candid expression of Lord Carrington's political views, one understands the popular aspects of the spirit of fraternity. With him the desire of being pleasant to everyone has made and keeps him a contented and self-convinced Radical, to which Lady Carrington's grace and social tact add the *décor* of charming manners and native kindliness.

On reaching Balmoral Kintore and I had not long to wait before we learnt that the Queen was ready, and with Lord George Hamilton, the Minister in attendance, and the Duke of Fife, we repaired to the presence chamber. Lord George had a few minutes' audience, and, on our being introduced, formally presented me to Her Majesty, who motioned with her left hand to the position I was to occupy. It was an impressive spectacle, on entering this small and rather meanly appointed room, to find the solitary occupant in this lonely woman who, for more than sixty years, has been the symbol of its historic grandeur to the members of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. The results of the slow travail of ages, and the seed of perhaps infinite changes in the ages to come, were there before the mind's eye, if only it had a proper perspective of the past and an adequate insight into the future. And yet how little sensible was that shrivelled octogenarian figure to the emotions she excited, as, with the habitual dignity that belongs to her, and a clearness of articulation that is startling in its melodious resonance, she applied herself to the routine business of a ceremonial at which she must have presided more than six hundred times !

On leaving the room Lord George told me the Queen had asked him if I was as dark as Charles II ; to which he replied, " Quite ; but otherwise he is a most respectable gentleman " ; and begged me not to belie the character he had so obligingly given me.

After luncheon I took a long walk with Carrington and his daughters in a steady downpour, which did not seem to disconcert either of them. The eldest is a very pretty girl, with a dignified charm of manner, both rare and refreshing.

About five o'clock a missive from Balmoral bade me to dinner, and, leaving a very pleasant party, which had been reinforced by

Lord and Lady Blythswood, I arrived there for the second time, about nine o'clock, the only member of the Queen's dinner-party who was not in the house. We were very few in all besides H.M. the Empress Frederick, her daughter and son-in-law, Prince and Princess Adolphe of Schomberg-Lippe, Princess Henry of Battenberg, Lady Lytton, Lord George Hamilton, Mrs. Mallet, Lord W. Cecil, and Mr. Goschen, our newly appointed Minister at Belgrade. Dinner, at which conversation was well sustained, lasted an hour. We adjourned to the drawing-room together, where the persons not of royal blood ranged themselves somewhat awkwardly along a piece of furniture at the end of the room, and, by talking to each other energetically, conveyed to the other occupants of the room that with them, at any rate, there were treasures of conversation to be obtained for the tapping. In a short time the Queen sent for Lord George Hamilton, and Princess Beatrice signified her pleasure that I should exercise my powers for her benefit. Later the Queen sent for me, and, to my surprise, I did not feel a bit nervous, though conscious that every eye in the room was directed to the discovery how the raw hand would fare in such a trial. The Queen was very gracious, and, after some personal enquiries, which were evidently dictated by pure kindness, mentioned members of my family who had served her at different periods of her reign.[1] She spoke with great affection of Sir Charles Peel, and evinced much interest in what I was able to tell her of the Duke of Grafton's health since his accident, the injury he then received having completely cured the pains in his head from which he had suffered ever since his wound at Inkerman, with the nature and direction of which Her Majesty was quite familiar. Shortly after the bow with which I was dismissed Her Majesty retired, and, as she left the room on the arm of her Indian attendant, she appeared to have shrunk into something infinitesimally small and old.

The atmosphere of Deeside is naturally impregnated with the Queen and stories about her; the most curious that came to my knowledge is the prayer of a Scottish minister, who recently officiated at Crathie Church, and in the royal presence petitioned the Almighty that "as the Queen became an auld woman she might put on the new man, and in all righteous causes stand before her people like a he-goat upon the mountains."

October 27th.—The French crisis grows more acute. After the Cabinet, which was summoned a week earlier than usual, the Duke appeared to think that the decision taken in the present state of French feeling would not tend to peace, and mentioned

[1] Lord Charles FitzRoy, who served with credit in the Peninsula (Medal and 8 Clasps) and at Waterloo, and was Vice-Chamberlain in Lord Melbourne's Administration (1837–9), she remembered for the vigour of his language, which even in that day was conspicuous.

the probable necessity of a Council for various proclamations preparatory to war. An interview I had with Lord Lansdowne a little later, confirmed my impressions of the urgency of the situation.

October 29th.—I received draft proclamations from the Admiralty relative to calling out reserves of officers and men, which they understood to be in proper form. Sir E. Macgregor, whom I saw in the evening, explained the necessity of tapping the reserves somewhat early in naval mobilisation, so that the men so obtained should be distributed in due proportion over the ships in commission, of which there were any number ready.

October 30th.—In the middle of these anxieties it was a pleasant relief to spend Sunday at Chevening, among the memorials of Pitt and the great epochs of past struggles with France. Unfortunately, we were confined to the house all the afternoon, and fell victims to the Duchess of Cleveland's love for excitements of the most juvenile character, in which at seventy-eight she displayed an energy and gaiety which distanced all competition. I was irresistibly reminded of the couplet :

> " Un pied dans le cercueil,
> De l'autre faisant des gambades.

October 31st.—Sir R. Knox called with six proclamations covering the whole field of the War Office's activity in preparation for war. I told him I should have to submit them to the Law Officers for revision, but I would get it done as quickly as possible, and as soon as they were approved a Council could be held in twenty-four hours, to make them effective. For this purpose I had my men ready for a journey to Balmoral at a few hours' notice.

The same evening, on returning from dinner, I found all the documents duly revised by the Law Officers.

The Attorney-General, however, was not content with this display of diligence, for the following morning he arrived at my house (9.5 a.m.), in order to ascertain whether I had received them, which my wife was able to assure him was the case. The parlour-maid announced that there was a gentleman in the drawing-room who called himself the " Eternal General."

November 3rd.—The confidential telegrams from Sir E. Monson become, if possible, more alarming. He evidently fears that the French Government will not dare to take any backward step, notwithstanding the strength of the considerations that recommend such a course. I cannot help thinking, however, that he allows the apprehensions of a nervous disposition to obscure his judgment.

November 4th.—Happily Lord Salisbury's speech this evening at the dinner to Lord Kitchener left it to be understood that at

Photo by Grove, Son and Boulton of picture by Neaphy.

LORD CHARLES FITZROY.

Viee-Chamberlain, 1837–1839.

the last moment good sense and good manners had asserted themselves, and that the French Government had agreed to evacuate Fashoda; but our state of preparation is to continue in order to see what may follow.

November 9th.—This was explained by Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House in a speech which I was very glad to hear, as it laid down in unmistakable terms the objects of British policy and the limits of British forbearance. It will be long before the cheers that greeted his arrival, and broke out again on his rising to speak, fade from my recollection. His impressive personality has its effect heightened by the lofty reserve which animates his oratory.

November 11th.—I spent an hour with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in going through the list of persons that were likely to be nominated for the Shrievalty on the following day: nothing could equal his suavity and reasonableness.

November 12th.—My forty-seventh birthday. On arriving at the Law Courts, I was received in the Lord Chief Justice's room, where several other judges were assembled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we were shortly joined by Lord Ashbourne. Proceedings in Court did not exceed one hour, which I am told establishes a record for despatch.

We had a pleasant dinner at home, at which the Ampthills, Vivian and Lady Sybil Smith, Lady Agnew, and others, assisted. Lady Sybil sang divinely in that artless style which is such supreme art, thus realising the artistic ideal, in what Walter Pater calls its consummate moments, namely, "the perfect identification of form and matter."

November 29th.—To-day we had a Council at Windsor. The Lord President, Lords Cross and Kintore went down with me. We walked up to the Castle, rejecting the use of the carriages which had been sent for us. The return of brilliant sunshine, after some days of dense fog, invested the old pile with more than its customary splendour. The *mot d'ordre* of service at Windsor is said to be "waiting," and the prolonged pauses that attended our movements made us painfully sensible of it. The Queen gave a protracted audience to the Duke before the Council, during which the rest of us were grouped in the corridor; but there is so much to see in that museum illustrative of the Hanoverian dynasty, and particularly of the incidents of the Queen's own reign, that the half-hour was not ill spent.

On admission to the royal presence we found ourselves in a room little more than twelve feet square, with Her Majesty on a settle with its back to the wall. It was not till business was almost concluded that it was found those in waiting had failed to furnish the inkstand with a pen, without which the royal signature could not be affixed to the proclamation proroguing

Parliament. A diligent search among the objects on the table proving fruitless, which drew from the Queen the observation "It is very funny there is no pen," I left hurriedly, and I am afraid, in so doing, turned my back upon my Sovereign. Outside the Groom-in-Waiting was sent flying for a pen, which his age and infirmities made him long in finding.

The Queen took the situation very good-humouredly, but I have no doubt somebody was sharply rebuked for his neglect.

After a very good luncheon in the Equerry's room, at which the Master of the Household presided, we returned to London, leaving the Duke to enjoy himself at Windsor.

December 4th.—We spent the Sunday at Stoke with the Allhusens. In the morning I took a long talk with Mr. Astor, whose burden of £30,000,000 seems to weigh heavily upon him. In the intervals, however, of chastened reflection, he was both genial and interesting. It is essential to the enjoyment of two people who are fond of walking, that they should respect each other's silences, and by such means we were soon established on a footing of mutual good-will.

Sydney Holland told us some pleasant stories of East End misery. A man was brought to Poplar Hospital insensible and seemingly dead. "Yes," said the doctor, on seeing him, "he is certainly dead," on which the supposed corpse was stirred to a feeble protest. "Be quiet," rejoined the woman who was in charge of it. "Surely the gentleman must know best!" In another case a woman presented herself to the house surgeon with her jaw broken from a blow which she had received from her husband. To the surgeon's enquiry whether he was often so violent, she replied, "No, sir, 'e's been more like a friend to me than a 'usband."

December 7th.—The report of Sir E. Monson's speech to the English residents in Paris excites a great deal of surprise, and has even caused some consternation. Many of the French papers, and some of those in this country, conclude that he spoke by Lord Salisbury's direction. I have reason, however, to know that the astonishment of the Foreign Office was profound, and that the surprise of the public was shared in official quarters. When a nervous man suddenly recovers his serenity and self-confidence, the recovery is not infrequently marked by a display of assurance which is easily mistaken for arrogance.

December 12th–16th.—Chatsworth is a very impressive place. The magnificence of the house, the pomp of its surroundings, the treasures it contains, the recollections it revives of much that was best in English public life during many dark and devious years of national history, all combine to the production of a very notable effect. There is a suggestion about it, as of its owner, of greatness by sheer force of a necessary tradition; and

surely there is something in these ancestral homes of the English aristocracy which makes its public influence natural, not to say inevitable. Certainly no manlier incarnation of the sentiment thus enshrined has ever borne testimony to its value than the present Duke of Devonshire, and it is all the more striking because his personality has none of those external graces which, in men of high position, go so far not only to illustrate their virtues, but to conceal their defects.

In curious contrast with his very simple and straightforward characteristics is the strange personality of the Duchess. Has she any desires, feelings, or reminiscences ? What is hidden under that impassive mask ? At times she gives you the impression of a somnambulist, almost an automaton. Is it the hypnotism of realised ambition, or the approach of physical exhaustion, the presage of the decay of those vital forces in which she has hitherto lived and moved ?

She is not, I think, an unkindly woman, but there is something mechanical about her to the verge of insensibility. No very particular friend of hers was included in the party, but even to those she knew best she wore the same impenetrable air, which seemed to admit of very little distinction between pleasant impressions and the reverse.

The announcement of Sir W. Harcourt's retirement excited much interest. The Duke has maintained pretty close personal relations with him since their political estrangement, and perhaps, remembering how his own hopes of succeeding to the Premiership in 1880 were frustrated, has some sympathy with the final annihilation of the other's ambition. Sir W. Harcourt aimed at two objects and he failed in each : the Chancellorship appeared within his grasp in 1886, when Mr. Gladstone avoided redeeming his pledge by declaring that he would not take office unless he was assured of Harcourt's lieutenancy in the House of Commons. Sir William consented to assume this position with the confident expectation of succeeding to the leadership, only to be again, after the lapse of eight years, forced to surrender his hopes. Truly a significant moral for so unstable a political career. Lord Acton, who was the only member of his party present, could not be drawn into pronouncing a suitable epitaph.

Lady Louisa Egerton preserves the best traditions of English womanhood of the patrician type, than which, at its best, French literature of the seventeenth century cannot produce more excellent examples.

Our evenings were agreeably filled by Mrs. Arkwright's singing to the accompaniment of the guitar. Her rendering of Pergolesi's impassioned lament for the dead Ninette, was as simply touching as anything I have ever listened to. One realised the profound instinctiveness of Italian melody, the quality that has been the

secret of its permanent and profound effect upon the music of all schools.

Lord Acton bore the prestige of his great learning with a communicative courtesy which made him a delightful companion.

1899

The prospect of a somewhat arduous session lies before me, as we shall be closely concerned at the Privy Council Office with the principal Bill in the programme of the Government, that dealing with Municipal Government in London, and I shall not surrender my personal interest in the fortunes of the measure that is to give secondary education form and coherence.

Mr. Balfour's pronouncement in favour of providing the Catholics of Ireland with a University they can use, though admirable in substance and in the dialectical skill with which the case was presented in a letter to a constituent, is hardly likely to be followed by legislative action at the present time. Irish Catholics are not alive to the importance of being extremely circumspect in their demands, and I am afraid that the diplomatic craft applied by Haldane to the removal of misunderstandings in his recent visit to Ireland as virtually the agent of Mr. Balfour, will not bear immediate fruit. As the Duke of Devonshire said the other day, I doubt that the Government could go on for long without Haldane. The "Saturday Review" appears to have got upon the traces of his movements in Ireland, but the person was described as an emissary of Lord Rosebery.

February 2nd.—The Council in connection with the approval of the Queen's Speech on the opening of Parliament was held this year somewhat earlier than usual. To meet the views of the Colonial Office, and give the Royal Assent to certain Tasmanian Acts, one of which it was desired to bring into operation on the 4th, the Queen was thus induced to hold the Council to-day, though she begged that so long an interval between approving the speech and the meeting of Parliament should not occur again, and stated that such an arrangement would have been considered impossible in the early days of her reign.

Besides the Lord President, Lords Cross and Kintore, we took to Osborne the Duke of Marlborough, Sir C. Hall, and Colonel Saunderson, to be sworn Privy Councillors. They played their parts well enough when the time came, though we were momentarily disconcerted by the Lord President proposing to shake hands with the novitiates before instead of after they had taken the Privy Councillor's oath. Her Majesty, with her unerring instinct for accuracy in ceremonial matters, pulled him up sharp, and Charles Hall said afterwards it was the first time he had seen Hartington blush

The Queen had raised a preliminary difficulty about the Duke of Marlborough, whose presence she had not expected, and did not remember ever having been consulted upon his assumption of the office of Paymaster-General. This must have been a mistake, as the intimation that he was to be sworn of the Privy Council came to me in the usual official course, and it appeared, on enquiry, that none of the customary formalities had been neglected. Marlborough appeared in a cut-away coat, which happily Her Majesty was too blind to see.

We were favoured with a very good luncheon in the large dining-room, at which everyone (ladies included), except the royal personages, at Osborne assisted. Colonel Saunderson was the object of a good deal of interest: pleasant fellow as he is, and *bon raconteur*, I am surprised he should have reached a position of any political importance. Saturated in the prejudices of a dwindling clique, he is slow to see that the business of a statesman is concerned with wider issues than the gratification of a taste for fanfaronade.

February 6th.—The usual party at Devonshire House opened the political and social session. Unionist politicians were in the best of spirits, and the coincidence of a wet night and a demonstration of cabmen at Exeter Hall reduced the crowd to manageable dimensions. Mowatt asked me if I would be a party, as a representative of the Government, to a conference which the Senate of the University of London were anxious to have with the Imperial Institute about the housing of the new University at South Kensington.

February 7th.—Parliament met. The only circumstance of interest at the House of Lords, beyond two excellent speeches from the Duke of Bedford and Cawdor, in moving and seconding the Address, was the question where Elgin would seat himself. He took a place among the Unionist peers, who sit on the benches to the right of the attenuated squad who occupy the space appropriated to the regular Opposition, and the personal solicitation of Lord Kimberley, who left the front bench to confer with him, failed to bring about a change in his decision. I am told he feels very sore about the attitude of his ancient friends towards his action in India, and is likely to be permanently alienated from them.

February 10th.—The administration of the new Bill for the better government of London is to devolve upon us. I agree with Ilbert that in the event of a certain clause being retained, we would undertake a responsibility that both the Home Office and Local Government Board had declined. The oldest department of State is still equal to an emergency.

February 12th.—We took part in a remarkable dinner at Claridge's, at which Mrs. Craigie was the entertainer; twenty-

seven people sat down. Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir H. Brackenbury represented the army ; law, literature, and politics were combined in Julian Sturgis and Richard Haldane ; journalism and the stage expressed themselves in the Massinghams of the " Daily Chronicle " and the Alexanders of the St. James's Theatre ; Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace stood half-way between literature and journalism ; and the remainder of the company included the usual mixed elements of English social life, wherein Bohemianism seeks to be mistaken for respectability and the humdrum likes to be suspected of extravagance.

Such a gathering is too polyglot for brilliance, too concerned with itself for simplicity, but it has a glitter for the superficial and a pathos for the philosopher.

February 19th.—Spencer Chapman, Haldane, and Sir T. Sanderson dined with me at the Travellers'. Haldane was kind enough to say that the conversation had been as good as the other good things ; and certainly it was interesting, playing as it did almost exclusively round the newest discoveries in chemical science and the present aspect of French politics.

Sir T. Sanderson had a theory *raisonné* of the Dreyfus story which appeared more plausible than any previously advanced. It was understood, when the relations between France and Russia became intimate, that they were to have no secrets from each other in matters of military equipment and organisation. It soon, however, appeared that Russia was not going to reveal anything but what was trivial and unimportant, and Dreyfus set himself on his own responsibility to bring about a better mutual understanding, and thus laid himself open to the charge of betraying secrets, at the moment the War Office were looking for a victim.

February 23rd.—Bigge[1] came up from Windsor to see the mechanical contrivance we have had made for dealing with the Sheriffs Roll on the occasion of the Queen's pricking the Sheriffs for the year. He was so pleased with it, that I sent it down to Windsor for Her Majesty's inspection. She had been afraid at the outset that it was intended to do away with the use of the time-honoured instrument she had wielded for more than sixty years, and will, he felt sure, be relieved to know that no such interference with established usage is in contemplation.

A lively dinner at the House of Commons with Ben Bathurst, Eddy Stanley,[2] and Sir B. Simeon sharpened their wits on Mrs. Harry Anstruther, who was equally clever in never missing a possible retort and in preserving silence when it was the only form of reply that could crush.

February 24th.—The Lord President took the chair at a *smoking* concert organised by the lower division staff of the E.D., and never was a descriptive epithet more richly deserved. The Duke,

[1] Now Lord Stamfordham. [2] Now Earl of Derby.

in a speech acknowledging a vote of thanks, claimed at least one qualification for the position, namely, that he was an inveterate smoker ; in which respect two, at any rate, of the Prime Ministers under whom he had served could not compete with him. Mr. Gladstone, they knew, loved music but hated tobacco, and as for Lord Salisbury, he doubted his devotion to music, but was certain that he could not have existed for five minutes in the atmosphere he (the Duke) was then enjoying.

February 25th.—The exit from life of the President of the French Republic seems scarcely dignified. Mme S., with whom he was on familiar terms, had extorted from him an invitation to an Élysée Ball, on hearing which, Mlle Lucie Faure threatened to leave the house, and the President's attack came on while he was endeavouring to obtain a release from his engagement to Mme S., who saw him daily through the medium of his private secretary. Till she was removed his family could not approach the dying President.

February 27th.—Bigge writes : " Great success ! the machine is approved of. Her Majesty thinks it is rather nice ! so please bring it on 7th."

I am glad to think the Queen's suspicions, that we were entertaining revolutionary designs, are happily removed.

March 2nd.—The Lord President's annual dinner for settling the Sheriffs list for the ensuing year took place last night : six members of the Cabinet were absent, but it was a matter of general remark that there was more *élan* about the gathering than usual. I was very cordially received by friends old and new, and was able to get through the business of the evening expeditiously. The Duke asked me for convenience' sake to sit opposite him, but that place was appropriated by the Lord Privy Seal, who stuck to it with bulldog resolution till dinner was over, when I got him to move up. Lord Salisbury allowed his caustic humour to play over the names on the list and some of the excuses which were put forward.

After dinner most of us went on to Lansdowne House, where the beautiful suite of rooms were filled with a brilliant company. The death of Lord Herschell, which had just become known, struck a grave note in the gaiety of life. He is a real loss to his own party and the Appellate Court, in which he was almost the foremost Judge, and has been struck down while engaged in work of first-rate importance for the future of Anglo-American relations. But for an unfortunate tendency to distil a spirit of acrimony, which I believe was foreign to his nature, into his speeches, he would have commanded a more ungrudging influence in the House of Lords.

March 3rd.—Dinner with Haldane at the House of Commons. Mrs. Craigie and Lady Battersea were stricken with influenza

at the last moment, and failed to appear. I sat between Asquith, whom I had not spoken to since I left Balliol, and Mrs. Horner, who justified my host's description of her as a very clever woman. Edmund Gosse was on the other side of her, whose functions as a literary critic she was inclined to rate cheaply. I was not concerned to defend Mr. Gosse's exercise of his privileges, and indeed as a critic he has encountered more than one disastrous fall; but I did defend most emphatically the position of criticism as in the first rank of modern literary effort, and illustrated my argument by an appeal to Anatole France's famous dictum: "Le bon critique est celui qui raconte les aventures de son âme au milieu des chefs-d'œuvre." Mrs. Horner refused to admit that Anatole France's claims to consideration were at all first-rate: Gosse, who agreed with me as to the supreme position he occupied among modern French writers, gave away his case in the eyes of the lady by describing him as the Andrew Lang of French literature, and destroyed my respect for his critical judgment.

Asquith spoke most regretfully of Herschell's loss, though I was inclined to say our host was quite capable of displaying as solid and many-sided attainments in the departments of both law and diplomacy. He told a story of some Canadian lady saying, *à propos* of Lord Aberdeen's departure, that she hoped his successor would let them go to the devil in their own way.

After dinner we inspected the bust of Cromwell which has been placed in one of the offshoots of the central lobby. It is a contemporary work by Bernini of most beautiful execution, and endowed with the most intense personal attributes.

March 4th.—A large company of Dick Somerset's[1] friends met in the Chapel of Wellington Barracks, to pay their last tribute to his memory. In that building, where every stone bears witness to the valour and endurance of his companions and predecessors in arms, our thoughts were for an all too brief interval consecrated to his bright career.

March 7th.—Council at Windsor. The Lord President and Lord James went down, and we found Hopetoun there. Lord Brampton, Sir W. Walrond, and Lord Justice Romer were sworn Privy Councillors. Lord Brampton was so gone in the forelegs that he was excused from kneeling; he experienced, however, almost equal difficulty in supporting himself while stooping to kiss the Queen's hand, and finally secured his position by laying tight hold of Her Majesty's fingers.

At the last moment the Queen shrunk from using the apparatus for unwinding the Sheriffs Roll, as the height at which she would have been obliged to keep her hand for fully ten minutes she found tiring. The only way would have been to substitute a

[1] Hon. R. Somerset died of Blackwater fever in Nigeria.

lower table for that at which she sat during the Council; but this she declined to do, and we had to make the best of our hands, cumbrous and dilatory as the process is.

On our way up a good story was told of the Lord Chief Justice, whose taste for gambling, though now kept in check, is well known. While travelling to Monte Carlo, he fell in with an American, and spent the night playing *écarté*. By the morning he had relieved his fellow-traveller of £30. The American was found that afternoon by an Englishman of his acquaintance, writing to the papers to warn travellers of this card-sharper, who frequented the line under the name of Russell, and was with great difficulty induced to relinquish his design on being assured that his companion was no less a person than the Lord Chief Justice of England.

At luncheon I sat next Caton Woodville, who had brought to Windsor his picture of the scene at Khartoum, when the Egyptian and English flags were hoisted on the spot immortalised by Gordon's fall. It was painted entirely from the descriptions of others, and the painter had been extremely flattered to hear from Slatin Pasha that he had not an alteration to suggest.

March 9th.—The Dowager Lady Hampden died this morning, after less than twenty-four hours' acute fever. She was easily reconciled to her withdrawal from the eminent position she occupied in society as the Speaker's wife, but was always grateful for one's efforts when she came to London to bring her into touch with the political life out of which she had passed.

March 13th.—Lady Hampden's funeral at Glynde. The journey from London to the Weald of Sussex was indeed a passage from darkness into light. Stirred gently by a breeze as soft as a mother's smile, the whole face of nature was redolent of the great awakening, and, as the sun fell upon the slow procession leaving the church for the graveside, and the chanting of the Resurrection hymn by the choir came back to those who followed, it seemed indeed as if among life's illusions death itself might prove the last and greatest.

March 14th.—To the souvenirs of death with which this month is already so charged, one of the most poignant is added to-day by the news that Lady Ridley is gone. Her case has been hopeless for some days, but one hoped against hope that an existence so rich in power and opportunities was not to be prematurely quenched. During the three and a half years for which my too short acquaintance with her lasted, I have had the good fortune to know something of the resources of her gifted and most attractive personality. There was a gentleness about her manner which was enhanced by its dignity, and the native charities of her spirit shone in every look and gesture.

It is no little thing to carry the love of all who know you to

the grave, and as, three days later, I saw her coffin under a load of flowers wind up St. James's Street, the thought of the great French poet came to me in the touching significance of his own tongue :

" Savourons, dans ce que nous disent
Silencieusement nos pleurs,
Les tendresses qui divinisent
Les douleurs."

I saw her last at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9th, when, as she was taking part in the usual parade of the most distinguished guests round the hall, she stopped to shake hands with me. Later she was seated in a position commanding the end of the table where I was placed, and the beautiful figure she presented when she received the loving cup—alas ! so soon to drain into the waters of Lethe !—from Sir Matthew, and passed it on to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will never fade from my recollection.

March 16th.—The new Chinese Blue Book has excited the usual outburst of conflicting criticism. It is curious that the organ of intelligent Radicalism, the " Westminster Gazette," should deplore the absence of the characteristic which to a penetrating eye is more apparent than any other throughout the correspondence, namely, a desire to come to an understanding with Russia. Nobody who has watched Lord Salisbury's action and weighed his language, can doubt that this has been the salient feature of his policy ; and if the critic, as he well may, deems the result inadequate, he should surely seek the right quarter on which to lay the responsibility. The Blue Book last year failed to show what was being done in the direction, because, as I believe, the papers would have thrown light upon one of the most discreditable transactions of Russian diplomacy, and, in estimating the results of another year's negotiations, the cross currents of European intrigue must be taken into account.

It is not too much to say that, besides an invincible anti-English prejudice on the part of a large body of Russian opinion which is constantly cropping up and thwarting more pacific tendencies, there are European influences which, friendly as they may be to Russia or to ourselves, are deeply interested in preventing an understanding. A curious instance of what I mean came to my knowledge the other day. The Russian Embassy represented to the Foreign Office that some movement hostile to Russia was on foot at Pekin : they did not know what it was, but had reason to believe that British instigation was at the bottom of it. It was an easy matter for the Foreign Office to disclaim all responsibility on the part of our agent at Pekin for the alleged intrigue, and to prove in fact that no such intrigue existed, and Russia had evidently been misled by false informa-

tion; and the Foreign Office entertain little doubt that some friendly Power had exerted its friendliness to sow suspicion between the two Governments, and make a mutual understanding impossible. By such occult instrumentality, working upon material accumulated by generations of mistrust, are the efforts of a far-seeing diplomacy too often frustrated.

April 17th.—The conference arranged to bring about a settlement of the conditions under which the new University of London may be installed in a portion of the buildings now occupied by the Imperial Institute had its second meeting at the Institute this morning. Lord James, who assumed the direction of affairs on the part of the Institute, lost sight of the basis upon which the Government had consented to entertain the project, and put forward at great length pretensions that were most distasteful to the representatives of the University, and which he must have known to be untenable. Even the patience of Lord Kimberley, who was in the chair and has a natural sympathy for talk, was sorely tried; but his courtesy towards a political opponent unduly retarded his intervention.

April 24th.—The second reading of the Board of Education Bill in the House of Lords was taken with little effectual criticism. Lord Spencer was anxious to know why the Government had preferred a Board for the constitution of the new department; to whom the Duke of Devonshire characteristically replied that the point had been carefully considered by the Government, but for the life of him he could not remember the reasons which had weighed with them in adopting a Board, but he could assure their Lordships that they were sufficient. There is not another man in either House of Parliament who could have said this without making himself look foolish; but it was quite in keeping with the yawn for which he arrested his first speech in the House of Commons, eliciting from Mr. Disraeli the remark: "That young man will go far."

I had tea in the refreshment-room of the House of Lords with the Bishop of London and Lord Rowton, who regaled us with accounts of the dinners his grandfather[1]—at that time Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords—used to give every Session to the Bishops. His daughter—Rowton's mother—was the only lady present on these occasions, and once remonstrated with her father on his practice of reserving his most scandalous stories for the edification of his episcopal guests. "Yes," he said, "and if a man as wicked as I am supports the Church, they'll begin to think there is something in it."

May 16th.—The London Government Bill is advancing with rapid strides, thanks to the admirable address with which Mr. Balfour brushes aside unhelpful suggestions and assimilates every

[1] Sixth Earl of Shaftesbury.

proposal that is calculated to smooth the passage of the Bill and ensure its successful working. For an hour to-day I was in his room at the House of Commons with the Attorney and Solicitor-General and Ilbert at a round table conference ; and, to anyone who cares to watch the play of an extraordinarily rapid and incisive intelligence, it was most interesting to follow the First Lord's mind in its unfaltering sequence of inquiry, comment, and suggestion, until all difficulties seemed to disappear in the white light of a purely intellectual appreciation. Even the legal acumen of the two Law Officers was seen at a disadvantage beside such a display. By means of the mastery of the subject so obtained, Mr. Balfour had the gratification, before midnight, of adding to the Bill all the original clauses and entering on the consideration of the new ones.

May 17th.—The labours of the last few weeks in connection with the laying the foundation-stone of the new Museum buildings at South Kensington were brought to an end most successfully to-day. At Brett's[1] request I had been associated with him in the arrangement of the preliminaries as the representative of the Lord President, and we had the satisfaction of knowing that everyone, from Her Majesty downwards, was gratified by the success which attended our efforts.

The rehearsal on the previous Saturday, at which the Queen's carriages and the great Officers of State assisted, helped to make the achievement easy, and just sufficient sunlight came to our rescue to illumine the assemblage gathered within the pavilion. The literary part of the programme fell to my care. After having suggested a suitable inscription for the stone, and written the address which the Duke was to read—an address the draft of which Her Majesty was good enough to return with her " entire approval "—I was involved in a correspondence with the Archbishop upon a suitable prayer. In the original programme nothing but a benediction had been provided, which Sir Spencer Ponsonby appeared to think might be one of many the Archbishop had up his sleeve, ready for adaptation to the circumstances of the occasion. I pointed out that a benediction was a well-known liturgical form which did not permit of such variation, but he and the Lord President were not content till I had written to the Archbishop to suggest something to be confined to the shortest possible limit. The Archbishop was docile, Her Majesty satisfied, and all went well.

Lord Salisbury arrived early in excellent spirits, and, with his hat reversed on the back of his head, rallied the Duke on the opportunity given him of making an *ex tempore* address. The Duke, unprepared for the sally and his mind still hampered with prepossessions on the subject of a benediction, replied that the

[1] Sir R. Brett (now Viscount Esher), Secretary of the Office of Works.

Archbishop alone was charged with any *ex tempore* utterances, which drew from that dignitary an emphatic repudiation.

Among the royal personages the dignity of the Duchess of York was impressive. From the Queen's arrival to her departure barely twenty minutes elapsed. Fortunately the company was not critical, or the Poet Laureate's verses and their musical setting might have been severely handled. However, it was the imminence of the eightieth anniversary of the Queen, and all it summed up, that occupied our minds, and the whisper that it might be her last public appearance in London gave pathetic interest to the scene. We remembered also that, but two days ago, she had been drawn through the rooms of Kensington Palace, where she had spent her girlhood and received the gift of the Crown ; and few imaginations could have bridged the interval without emotion. The cheering came from the heart, and, as the royal *cortège* disappeared through the golden haze that hung about the western entrance of the pavilion, the halo of sixty beneficent years seemed to radiate from her passing.

May 19*th.*—The Lord President, Hopetoun, Kintore, and I went to Windsor to-day for a Council.

Caton Woodville's picture, "At Last," was on view in the great corridor. Across the waste of desert lies the British bivouac after Omdurman beneath the star-strewn canopy of an African sky. The thin columns of smoke rising perpendicularly from the camp-fires express eloquently the stillness of the atmosphere ; one or two Highland soldiers sentinel the foreground, and in the extreme distance a lurid glare hangs over Omdurman, against which the dome of the Mahdi's tomb, white under the alabaster starlight, is a conspicuous object. But these are only accessories : in middle air, just above the sleeping host, extended in the arms of three celestial bearers, is the body of the heroic Gordon passing to its eternal rest. A symbol of struggle tranquillised by achievement, of death that receives a higher consideration from the delay of its reward, of apotheosis that will endure, and form part of the nation's panoply, as it awaits the trials that are to come—no extravagant translation of what might have been Gordon's thought.

August 28*th.*—In little more than a year since his retirement Charles Peel has passed to a deeper rest. I saw him on the eve of his and my departure from London, whither in a fortnight I was to return in order to stand by his graveside, and thought him better than he had been throughout the summer, looking forward, as he was, to two or three months in his Sussex home. A week later he fell insensible at his lodge gate, so injuring the brain that he never recovered consciousness.

Among those who gathered round his bier as he was borne to the grave on a southern slope commanding all that was gracious

and winning in English landscape, there was but one conviction of the nobility and gentleness of the spirit that was gone, but one impulse of affection for the character and personality it had illuminated.

September.—On my return to London after a very pleasant week in Yorkshire, including three days' grouse driving at Bransdale, with a bag of 500 brace, I found the Transvaal crisis approaching an acute stage and a Cabinet Council imminent.

Ministers met on the 8th, and in conversation with the Duke, before and afterwards, I learnt the exaet position of affairs. It appeared that the Cabinet, while anxious to avoid war, was determined to leave President Krüger in no doubt upon the view they took of the only means by which it could be obviated, while entertaining but little hope that he would yield to anything but physical pressure. I understood that for the moment, beyond the despatch of 10,000 men from India and the Home garrisons, nothing could be done to make that pressure felt; but that in a fortnight's time the calling out of the Reserves might be within the range of practical politics, and that it would be as well, therefore, to have all the necessary proclamations in readiness for immediate use.

September 22nd.—The result of to-day's Cabinet has been to make the meeting of Parliament possible in some three weeks' time. Military preparations had reached the point when the provision of land transport for the equipment of an army corps had become necessary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer very properly took the view that, if it was to be proceeded with, Parliament ought to authorise the expenditure thus incurred.

Absolute unanimity reigns among Ministers as to the steps that should be taken, and their agreement is as complete that the reply of President Krüger and the attitude of the Orange Free State render war almost inevitable. With a view, however, to deprive him of any excuse on the score of the menace to the internal independence of the Transvaal, another despatch had been authorised, giving explicit assurances on the point. As in the natural development of events a Council at Balmoral would become necessary, the Duke thought there was no reason why I should not go to Scotland in readiness therefor, which, in view of being called back to London in October, should Parliament meet on the 17th, I was not loath to do.

October 1st.—An intimation from the Secretary for War reached me to-day that the Proclamation calling out the Army Reserve and summoning Parliament will in all probability have to be signed on the 7th inst. It is singular that at a moment when the Government and the nation, having done their utmost to find a peaceful solution for the evils that disturb the Transvaal, are now slowly but remorselessly preparing for war, not only are

the recognised chiefs of the Opposition silent in the fear of compromising themselves with a section of their supporters, but such of the Liberal Party who do find a voice discover in the present position of affairs nothing but the natural consequences of Mr. Chamberlain's defects as a negotiator.

October 7th.—I reached Balmoral last night, and, while discussing tea in my bedroom, had a conference with Edwards and Lord Balfour on the arrangements for the morrow. At about seven o'clock I received an intimation that I was to dine with the Queen. About nine we (i.e. the Duchess of Roxburgh, Lord Balfour, Sir F. Edwards, and myself) were assembled awaiting Her Majesty's entrance into the dining-room. The Queen, who was fairly punctual, was accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, the Grand Duke Michael and the Countess Torby, Princess Henry of Battenberg, and Prince and Princess Francis Joseph of Battenberg. It was my lot to sit next Princess Hohenlohe, a daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh, who set off what she had to say with a great charm of manner. Without being exactly pretty she gives you the impression of being so, derived, I presume, from her manifest desire to please and her power of pleasing. The Montenegrin Princess (Francis Joseph of Battenberg) has an interesting face of the *épervier* type; but, as she does not speak English, she suffered from an enforced silence fatal to the display of the keen intelligence of which she showed every indication.

After dinner the Queen talked for some time to Countess Torby, who seemed flattered with her reception, and subsequently, in conversation with Lord Balfour, went to sleep twice, much to his consternation. On awaking, Her Majesty excused herself with great candour on the score of her long drive, which was more than calculated to produce the effect on an old lady of eighty who insists on dining at 9.15. Notwithstanding her sleepiness, the Queen was good enough to send for me and commented on the circumstances which had rendered so early a Council necessary. She spoke with a confident conviction of the inevitableness of the struggle, and exhibited a cheerful courage and serenity of temper in a crisis that has no doubt tried her sorely. She was stirred to great animation in the condemnation of Sir W. Harcourt's speeches, which she truly described as unpatriotic and disloyal to the best traditions of English public life.

Bearing in mind our anxiety to have the Council as early as possible, Her Majesty did not keep us waiting long after eleven, and the business, including the signing of the three proclamations, which Her Majesty did with much firmness, was soon over, and I was able to send a telegram to the Secretary of State for War, which he received before twelve o'clock, and at once put in motion the machinery for calling out the Army Reserve.

As Lord Balfour afterwards remarked, we had assisted at a great act of State which, for good or evil, was fraught with momentous consequences to the British Empire.

October 8th.—I spent Sunday at Keith Hall with the Kintores, and enjoyed one of the loveliest days of a Scottish autumn in a charmingly situated and most hospitable country house. Kintore's reminiscences of South Australia have considerable political interest, as he is a shrewd observer and a man of sound practical judgment. I was particularly interested in the account he gave of his efforts as a moral reformer.

October 17th.—The meeting of Parliament, almost within the shadow of impending hostilities, was a most impressive event, and rarely have I seen so large a gathering of both sexes throng the House of Lords to hear the Prime Minister—perhaps, too, urged by some curiosity as to whether Lord Rosebery would have anything to say.

The unreality of any Opposition criticism was soon exposed by the direction of Lord Kimberley's remarks, resolving themselves, as they did, into a perfunctory censure on Mr. Chamberlain's supposed diplomatic methods. Lord Salisbury had no difficulty in disposing of their line of attack, and raised a laugh at the expense of his assailant's theory that " suzerainty " meant nothing in particular, on the ground that, as the author of the expression, Lord Kimberley's explanation of its meaning was at any rate entitled to consideration. The compliments paid to the mover and seconder of the Address included some sympathetic references to the father of the former, the Duke of Rutland.

In the House of Commons my old friend, the " Pink'un " (Sir A. Acland-Hood [1]), made a very good speech in moving the Address, and kept the House to close attention while describing the soldier's sense of the horrors of war. It is obvious that the Opposition will make things nasty for the Government unless they are promised a Queen's Speech in February. The point is not worth contesting, particularly as the only person to suffer any acute inconvenience from a prorogation will be the Clerk of the Council, who will be obliged to undertake another journey to Balmoral.

October 20th.—The news of battle has begun to reach us, and the operations show a first tactical success to our credit. It looks, however, as if the Boer movement in Natal were to be made in great force, nothing but feints being intended in other directions ; in which case the distance from one another of the two centres of British activity, Ladysmith and Glencoe, will be a source of weakness.

October 22nd.—Sir G. White has for a moment eased the strain by a successful action against the force interposed between

[1] Afterwards Lord St. Audries.

him and the defenders of Glencoe, but he is not within effective striking distance.

October 23rd.—On reaching London this morning I found the probability of a Council being wanted this week much increased, and the news from the front received in the course of the day enhanced the desire to wind up the Session as quickly as possible. The Government's design had been to ask Parliament to sanction the addition of 2*d.* to the income-tax and 6*d.* on beer for the rest of the financial year: at least, that was the scheme the Chancellor of the Exchequer had imposed on a somewhat unwilling Cabinet. But that has now been abandoned, and the money is to be found by the issue of Exchequer Bills. One of the circumstances which led to the change of plan is said to have been a chance meeting between the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons and a member of the Cabinet, in which the former is said to have expressed himself against any proposals which would lead to prolonged discussion.

Telegrams from the seat of war, of which a very careful summary was presented to the House of Commons, show that the expected has happened. Yule, who succeeded to the command on Symons being disabled, has not felt strong enough to maintain himself in the position so ably defended on Friday, and, leaving his stores and wounded at Dundee, is retreating by such line as is open to him in the attempt to effect a junction with White. The greatest anxiety is felt as to the tenor of the next telegrams, and in the meantime the press censorship has kept the public from anticipating disaster prematurely.

The Queen has been asked to hold a Council for the prorogation and other business on Thursday.

October 25th.—The tension was somewhat relaxed this morning by the news that Yule had effected his withdrawal unmolested to Beith, a point some fifteen miles south of Glencoe, which was quite unsuspected by the Press, and makes the speculation contained in their military chronicles of the war read very oddly. Later in the day, the news of a further victory gained by White, who was throwing out strong feelers in Yule's direction, gave the War Office opportunity to enlighten public darkness. I saw Lord Lansdowne at six o'clock, who was full of confidence that before that time White and Yule had joined hands. The question now is, can they maintain themselves, with the reinforcements of two regiments recently landed, at Ladysmith, where something like one million's worth of war material is collected? Lord Wolseley is already talking of a probable concentration at Colenso, some ten miles to the rear, covering the line of the Tugela River. It is to be hoped, however, that this will not become necessary, as its moral effect would be very hurtful to British interests, both at home and abroad. It would seem as if a movement on

the south frontier of the Free State, for which the General-in-Command in Cape Colony must be quite strong enough, were the best means of diverting some of the pressure from Sir G. White ; but will Sir F. Walker be bold enough to undertake it before Sir R. Buller's arrival ?

I have arranged to leave London with Akers-Douglas to-morrow at eight o'clock, and hope to be back on Friday evening, the stress of business in London being too great to permit of my accepting Her Majesty's most gracious offer of a bed on Thursday. I have acknowledged her kindness in as grateful terms as I could command.

October 27th.—In an absence of thirty-six hours from London I have travelled 1,200 miles, with an interval of four hours at Balmoral, and two more at Perth, where I broke the return journey to dine. Akers-Douglas proved a very agreeable travelling companion, and the train was punctual enough to permit of a comfortable breakfast at Aberdeen. It was a lovely morning as we drove up the valley from Ballater, one of those pauses which mark a late autumn and give an air of almost returning hope to the stricken foliage, which was infinitely pathetic in the sensitiveness and delicacy of its hues. Edwards met us at Balmoral with the telegram that had just left the Queen, announcing Sir W. Penn-Symons's death. Her Majesty had been greatly disturbed by the news, following on the heavy losses, which had already deeply affected her, and traces of agitation were present in her manner during the Council.

The reported loss of a squadron of the 18th Hussars is indirectly confirmed by an intercepted telegram from Boer sources, which was sent to the Governor-General of India from Aden, relating the entry into Pretoria of a train conveying prisoners, and mentioning names which were near enough to those of the missing to permit of identification. That some incompetence on the part of the colonel, who was captured with the squadron, must have contributed to the disaster is obvious, and I was not, therefore, surprised to learn from Sir Donald Stewart, whom I found in the train this morning, that his (the colonel's) reputation does not stand high.

I saw a long telegram from Sir George White, in which he argued the question of concentrating all the available force at Ladysmith, or leaving regiments at Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Like the good soldier he is, he decides for preserving his force in the strongest possible effectiveness, and is sanguine that the opportunity will offer itself of dealing some heavy blows at the Boer advance. " Were I to perish," he was bold enough to say, " and my force to be wiped out, a regiment or two left in the Colony would not serve for defence, and meanwhile the value of the force at my disposal would be seriously diminished." There is

the true ring of a high strategic sense of proportion in this dictum, and it is a pity that the representations of the Governor of Natal had not prevented its earlier application to the military situation.

The Queen's Speech dismissing Parliament from the labours of this short session was altered at the last moment, before its formal submission to the Queen, by the substitution of "the splendid *qualities displayed* by our soldiers" for the "*victories won*"—a discreet change.

November 4th.—The wisdom of a very chastened indulgence in exultation has been abundantly proved by the events of the last few days. It is to the credit of the nation that the news of the disaster to the column at Nicholson's Nek has been received with so much fortitude. The disaster itself is of no serious import, but it is the prelude to events which will tax the patience and the courage of the people.

After a very brief interchange of views with Sir R. Buller, White has been completely cut off from regular communication with his base. Buller's telegrams are not cheerful reading; each day his survey of the situation offers less hope of an early removal of the difficulties that attend it. He was satisfied, however, that White had good reason to hold on to Ladysmith, the moment for a secure withdrawal being passed, and he was inclined to adhere at all costs to the plan of striking at Bloemfontein as soon as may be, notwithstanding Kimberley "howling" for relief. The soundness of this view of course depended on the power of Sir G. White to maintain himself for at least six weeks, and of that, in another telegram, Buller appears none too certain: to such an extent, indeed, do his doubts go that he has apparently determined to send Gatacre's Division on to Durban immediately it arrives, having in the meanwhile arranged with the Naval Commander-in-Chief for the defence of that port. The attitude of the Cape Dutch gives cause for much anxiety, trains in the old Colony being fired at, and the general disquiet being such as to suggest the propriety of patrolling the railways with troops, a serious liability having regard to the many hundred miles of line exposed to attack.

It is evident that if the Boers are strong and bold enough to throw themselves in force on White's communications and occupy the hilly country to the south of the Mooi River, the task of relieving him will become one of immense difficulty, and the reconquest of Natal might in the long run absorb all the energies of the British attack. To this Buller seems fully alive, and is prepared to recommend the most drastic measures to avert the risks that wait upon failure.

A levy *en masse* of the British population and their being thoroughly armed for defence, are expedients that may have to be adopted.

The most disquieting feature of White's situation is the absence of any large store of ammunition for the naval guns, which alone enable him to dominate the enemy's artillery.

November 9th.—Buller's later telegrams are more reassuring, and now that an effective plan of operations is being rapidly matured, he no longer speaks in a tone of somewhat perfunctory regret for Ladysmith and Kimberley if they should fall. A division and a half are to go to Natal under Clery, and the gap thus created in the invading force on the Orange River, will be filled by the despatch of a new division from home. The advance is necessarily thereby delayed, but the time may be usefully occupied by the relief of Kimberley, for which the force on the spot will be ample, before the end of the current month.

November 10th.—Lord Salisbury's speech last night was worthy of the occasion and the reputation of the speaker. Brett, who brought me home, seemed surprised at what he called the absence of war enthusiasm in the vast audience. To my thinking, the note struck by all the speakers, and responded to by the company, was not that of the exultation that goes with a light-hearted effervescence of feeling, often mistaken for enthusiasm, but rather the deep conviction of a salutary necessity expressing itself in unflinching resolution and unswerving purpose, in a determination all the more emphatic because so sternly repressed.

The Belgian Minister made a speech in English, which he read with great fluency from a paper held close to his nose : it was perhaps wiser than speaking in a language of which he has not full command. As an instance of the curious effect sometimes produced on a foreign enquirer by attempting an explanation in his own tongue, at the opening of the Law Courts a Frenchman asked what was the uniform worn by Lord Salisbury, which happened to be that of one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and was informed that it was the dress of " le frère aîné de la Trinité." " Mon Dieu ! quelle distinction ! " was his not unnatural outburst of astonishment.

November 13th.—The meeting in the Court of Exchequer for the nomination of Sheriffs occupied even less time than last year. It was held at twelve o'clock, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer's convenience, who was due at Bristol in the afternoon.

November 14th.—The list of casualties among the officers serving in South Africa is swelling to serious proportions. The Romneys' youngest son is the last victim : it deserves to be remembered to his credit that, though among the youngest of the band, he had the moral courage to refuse participation in that foolishly planned and badly executed Jameson Raid. If there are any persons who at this crisis deserve the execrations of their countrymen, those who were responsible for that supreme act of panic should head the catalogue.

November 16*th.*—The absence of Sir W. Butler from Bristol during the visit of the Queen has set wagging the tongues of those wiseacres who, entrenched in their ignorance and malignity, presume to know everything and claim the right to attribute the meanest motives to the men who bear the burden of the day in the field and at the desk. The true causes of Sir W. Butler's departure from South Africa may not be disclosed for years to come, but I am inclined to think they are more to his credit than is generally allowed. It is said, in his defence, that when last in Natal he pointed out the weakness of Ladysmith from a military point of view, and strongly urged the adoption of the Tugela as the first line of British defence. This brought him into collision with Sir W. Hely Hutchinson, whose influence on military strategy during the last few weeks is known to have aggravated the difficulties of the situation, and the two had a very warm dispute. Butler, who, whatever his defects of character and temper, is a first-rate soldier, strongly resented being overruled by a civilian on such a point, and, after delivering himself of some very indiscreet and hot-headed speeches, resigned his command.

November 17*th.*—Another disaster to an armoured train, this time in Natal. To quote the observation of a distinguished soldier on the spot, "It is impossible to understand such inconceivable stupidity" as the circumstances connected with the incident disclose.

November 25*th.*—The service for Lady Salisbury in St. James's Palace Chapel, held at the same moment as the funeral ceremony at Hatfield, was a simple and touching expression of the sympathy felt by a large congregation for the desolation that has overtaken the stateliest figure in English politics. Mr. Chamberlain paid the rite the compliment of the most engrossed attention.

November 27*th.*—Public anxiety this week is concentrated on the advance of Lord Methuen to the relief of Kimberley. Two actions in almost the same number of days are evidence of the pertinacity of the British attack, but they also bear witness to the stubborn insensibility with which the Boers resist the demoralising effects of defeat. Amid the clash of arms my parents celebrated their golden wedding this day.

November 28*th.*—Council at Windsor. The Lord President, Hopetoun, and Kintore formed the party, and we also took down the new Judge (Farwell) and the new Chief Magistrate in London (Lushington), to be knighted. The Duke's audience with the Queen lasted fully half an hour, and we did not enter the Royal Presence till two o'clock. The Queen showed no sign of the anxieties to which the war is subjecting her, although that very morning she had been unnecessarily disturbed by an error in a

telegram which represented the loss of the 9th Lancers as 80 instead of 8 wounded.

November 29th.—Lord Methuen has fought another murderous engagement, with results that are not very clearly stated in his despatch; but we must be prepared for heavy losses. The passage, however, of the Modder River seems secure.

November 30th.—I dined with the Royal Society at the Whitehall Rooms. The speech of the evening was the Chinese Minister's, who in excellent English dilated on the achievements of science for humanity. The references of the Lord Chancellor to the topic of the hour showed, at all events, that the heart of scientific England is sound.

December 2nd.—Buller's telegrams are still charged with a tone of misgiving that is somewhat disquieting. Public opinion, or, for that matter, ministerial opinion, is under no misapprehension as to the gravity of the task that lies before us. It would seem almost as if close perspectives in Natal had warped the General's sense of proportion, for to our view at home the situation has become decidedly clearer, and the lines upon which the work is to be done are shaping themselves with growing distinctness.

There is much, however, that needs plain speaking here, and the attitude of the Press towards the facts of the position and the responsibility of those in power, is not what it should be. At a moment when the public mind is excited, its nerves unstrung, and its credulity omnivorous, a Press governed by patriotic and prudent considerations would do its utmost to allay the tendency to premature, or perhaps altogether needless alarm, and to inspire confidence in those at the helm, both here and abroad. Instead of that, we find a vulgar love of sensational headlines and a desire to be the first to disseminate anything that can astound or appal the popular imagination; an impatience to await facts before publishing the criticisms upon what they are assumed to be, and an utter indifference to the correction of impressions that are proved to rest on the imperfect information for the spread of which they are themselves responsible.

December 17th.—The boding tone of Buller's private telegrams had almost prepared one for disaster whenever he should take the field. It is unusual to find a British Commander-in-Chief using language calculated to create the impression that he has undertaken a task beyond his strength. Certainly his first movements do not justify the character of prudence and resourcefulness with which he has been credited. Without holding him responsible for the error of Colonel Long that led to the annihilation of the artillery, the language of his published despatch, with the bitter commentary upon it afforded by the casualty list, must go far to shake confidence in his generalship. Of course this is not the moment to use such language, and the Press has, in not

emphasising it, shown self-restraint: the tact of the Duke of Devonshire at York in appealing to those who want to abuse someone to go for the members of the Cabinet, "which hurts nobody," has already had a salutary effect. Poor man, he feels these reverses in his impassive way rather heavily. Yesterday afternoon, at the Travellers', he was talking very gloomily of what might happen before the Cabinet's next meeting, and the immense strain likely to fall on our military resources.

It was a great relief after dinner to take up Anatole France's last book, "Clio," and lose oneself in an atmosphere of pure idealism. The portrait of Homer in extreme old age is one of the most poignant and touching incarnations of this writer's peculiar gifts, and illustrates with singular significance his luminous conviction of the part played by pity and irony in making human life supportable. The closing scene has a strange impressiveness: from a drunken and gluttonous revel that issues in a sanguinary struggle in which princes, heroes, and peasants are foully mixed, the singer of immortal songs, which men are too base and brutal to heed, passes on his blind way to death and an eternity of fame, as the promontory on which he seeks the morning sun falls before his feet, and he sinks into the blue abyss of the Ægean.

December 18th.—I dined at the Savile Club with Bailey Saunders, the Secretary of the University of London Commission, and met Eustace Balfour and Haldane. The latter was in a vein of very provocative humour, and declined to take seriously the military pretensions of the colonel of the London Scottish. Eustace Balfour bore it good-naturedly, but apologised to me after Haldane left for any breaches of courtesy of which he might have been guilty. He asked me the following evening to be present at a war game to be conducted under his supervision at the Headquarters of the London Scottish, which, together with a rough dinner in the kitchen attached to the building, afforded me considerable amusement.

December 23rd.—In consequence of a telegram that the Foreign Office were again urging an early Council for the issue of a Proclamation warning Her Majesty's subjects against trade with the Transvaal, I put myself into communication with the Duke and went up to London in order to be in a better position to make the necessary arrangements. A dense fog set in about one o'clock, and I was three hours making the return journey to Farnborough.

December 26th.—A Council having been fixed for to-morrow, Arthur Balfour agreed to take the Duke's place. Fortunately the Duke of Connaught was at Windsor, for Edwards failed at the last moment, and efforts to obtain a third Minister would have been fruitless. As it was, Mr. Ritchie's presence was secured

with great difficulty. Mowatt and I met in Mr. Balfour's room in the afternoon, in the hope that it might be possible to fix the day for the meeting of Parliament; but it was uncertain when the financial resources of the War Office would be exhausted, and the question had to be postponed for later consideration.

December 27th.—Council at Windsor. Mr. Balfour, Ritchie, and myself went down. Certainly anything that brings me into contact with the former is a matter of congratulation. There is a freshness, a serenity, almost a buoyancy about him which is as attractive as it is inspiring. A story Sir T. Sanderson told me illustrates this quality of his mind. They had been engaged for a long time in negotiations over the Greek Loan. The Powers, the Press, and the Financiers were busily occupied in creating difficulties. At every stage they had to go over the ground already traversed, Sanderson's duty being to explain the steps hitherto taken and the reasons which determined them. Arthur Balfour was always very apologetic for giving him this trouble, and at last, after the process had been repeated about a dozen times, delivered himself of this delicious dictum: "There is one advantage about my abominable memory, that I always approach my previous decisions with a fresh mind, and am delighted when I find them sound."

At Windsor to-day he gracefully repudiated any knowledge of the formalities to be observed, and I am afraid rather upset Her Majesty by his somewhat informal proceedings.

I took the opportunity of suggesting to him that the vacancy in the Chief Charity Commissionership caused by the premature and lamented death of Sir H. Longley, offered an excellent opportunity for disposing of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. He was quite alive to the value of the suggestion, and, though apprehensive of some difficulty with the Treasury, approved my intention to communicate with the Lord President on the subject.

Gorst's relations with the Secretary have recently become so strained, and his attitude of slumbering rebellion towards the Lord President is so persistent, that something ought to be done to bring the situation to an end before the Board of Education Act comes into operation, by which the anomalies of the Vice-President's position will be greatly enhanced.

Gorst, as Chief Commissioner, is qualified to do some good work, and might thus regain some of the reputation so heedlessly lost in the last few years. The difficulty will lie in his reluctance to abandon a place by virtue of which he can direct his shafts against his colleagues from the Treasury Bench. He believes, too, that the Government having stood so much from him, are afraid to press matters to the only logical issue.

December 31st.—The last day of this eventful year suggests

some reflections on the circumstances that have led to the present state of affairs. The charge of lack of foresight in neglecting to make adequate preparations for war will no doubt be urged, possibly with some force, against the Government; but I have been familiar with the whole course of the negotiations, and can say with certainty that the hopes of a pacific solution of the difficulty were almost to the last moment as strong with the Government as their determination to work for it. The selection of the franchise for the basis of negotiations as an eminently peaceful topic of discussion, and one little likely to give occasion to either side for provocative language, is the proof of it, and it was only the persistence with which Mr. Krüger sought to mix up with it the dangerous subject of the "suzerainty" that first compromised its safety and then led to its abandonment. It was not till the eve of war, and the subsequent declaration of Messrs. Steyn and Reitz, that the duplicity of the whole transaction appears. So recently as the last days of August, when the subject of the transmission of arms through Cape Colony to the Free State and the Transvaal was discussed in the Cape Parliament, Mr. Schreiner produced a despatch from Mr. Steyn affirming the pacific intentions of his Government, and declaring that war would be a "crime against civilisation." In the same debate both Messrs. Schreiner and Rhodes refused to believe in the possibility of war. It is not, therefore, surprising, still less a cause for impeachment, that Ministers at home had up to the same date shared this conviction and laboured to this end.

From that date to the declaration of war by the Boers little more than a month elapsed, and it is for the action, or inaction, of the Cabinet within that time that the charge of supineness must be substantiated. The Reserves might then have been called out and the despatch of the Army Corps anticipated by a few weeks; but can anyone doubt that it would have been met by an instant declaration of war on the part of the Boers? whereas by the tentative and defensive steps the Government then took another month was occupied in negotiations, during which such forces as the military authorities believed sufficient for defence were introduced into the country. For their inadequacy the responsibility lies with the very incomplete notion held at the War Office of the power of the Boer for offensive operations. Lord Wolseley's declaration that its military reputation was a bubble that had to be pricked, and the opinion expressed by one of his military colleagues at the War Office, so late as August, that 15,000 men could conquer the Transvaal, afford all the evidence wanted.

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January 11*th.*—To Osborne with Akers-Douglas and the "Father of the House of Commons," who was to be sworn of the

Privy Council. We found Pembroke there and Rowton, also destined for the same ceremony. All went well till the venerable parent of the popular chamber was about to kneel to take the oath of allegiance, when Edwards, under the impression that the oath was tendered to each separately, laid a heavy hand upon his shoulder. I signalled to him to let him go, but the shock very nearly laid him on his beam-ends, which would have had the effect of prostrating Rowton also, when fortunately, with a violent struggle, Mr. Beach recovered his equilibrium. On the way down Douglas gave me some most interesting letters from his son in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, whose experiences at Modder River and Magersfontein were unique in their variety and sensational character. Everything that one hears from the seat of war points to the utter muddle that prevailed during the former battle, which should have resulted in their crushing defeat; and the second and more serious enterprise, whatever may have been the merits of the design, was paralysed by the disaster that overtook the Highland Brigade in five minutes from the commencement of the action. Douglas's boy was overwhelmed in the rush to the rear, and carried insensible to the ambulance, where he lay for three hours. On recovering consciousness, he realised that he was still unwounded, and joined the firing line in time to be of some service in rallying the remnants of the Brigade. Nothing, he said, could equal his rage and despair at that moment; and indeed the incident must have burnt itself into the recollection of all who saw it.

The Queen, I understand, took a vivid interest in hearing every detail, and, much as she feels the untoward events of this hitherto calamitous campaign, she allows nothing to interfere with or cast down the cheerful courage with which she regards its ultimate issue.

At luncheon I sat next the new Maid of Honour, Miss Vivian, who only arrived at Osborne the day before. Douglas remained for the night, and Pembroke and Mr. Beach only returned with me as far as Portsmouth, whence I reached London alone just in time to join the hospitable Board of the Goldsmiths Company. The Prime Warden for the time is the Attorney-General, who was somewhat concerned to hear that it had been decided to summon Parliament on the 30th instant. The rest of the guests included the American Minister, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir R. Harrison, Sir T. Sanderson, and Lord Jersey, so I was fortunate in finding several friends. The oratory was marked by one very good speech and another the worst that I ever heard. Mr. Choate was admirable in the terseness and point of what he had to say, making very humorous use of Webster's information that, after the first two hours of his speech at the Venezuelan Arbitration, the American Arbitrator had complimented him

upon his resemblance to Mr. Choate. The bad speech was that of Sir R. Harrison, who seemed overweighted by his responsibility as one of the inner Military Council at the War Office for the miscalculations that had led to the present deadlock, and unable, perhaps owing to the presence of the precious metal round him in dazzling abundance, to get over the alleged influence of gold among the causes of the war.

Sir T. Smith, the great surgeon, who was on my right, was much struck with the likeness between Sir T. Sanderson and the Archbishop of Canterbury; indeed, he was inclined to attribute his paternity to that most reverend source.

On our departure from the scene of what was quite the pleasantest entertainment of a quasi-public order within my experience, we were the recipients of a magnificent wooden casket containing assorted sugar-plums of the most excellent character.

January 25th.—The Lord President has made an abortive effort to get the Queen to admit that there is no necessary connection between a Council and the approval of the Queen's Speech at the opening of a session. Bigge says Her Majesty will not hear of such heterodoxy. The practice of her reign no doubt establishes the fact that the one invariably precedes the other, though it is as certain that the approval of the Queen's Speech is not the act of the Queen in Council.

January 29th.—A very cold day for our second trip to Osborne. The Lord President and Hopetoun were my companions. On reaching Osborne, I found Bigge occupied in re-editing under Her Majesty's direction a Form of Intercession drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury for use during the war. As Hopetoun wittily said, "What an occupation for a gunner! he ought to be made a minor can(n)on!"

Lord Lorne, by Her Majesty's orders, also attended the Council. It is established that the Lord Chamberlain, as one of the great Officers of State who were originally members of the Cabinet, remains in the room when the Queen's Speech is understood to be read. The Queen made an innovation by instructing Lord Lorne to stay also, so that Edwards alone withdrew with me. The Queen had noted the absence of any reference to "our sailors" in the speech, and had commanded the insertion of words to cover the error, which I had time to do before the Council.

The Queen is not cast down by Buller's second reverse, and has sent off a telegram appreciatory of the efforts of the force. I had the pleasure of sitting opposite Miss Vivian at luncheon, and was charmed with her brightness and graces of expression. To use the old phrase, she has as much countenance as beauty.

January 30th.—Proceedings at the opening of Parliament did not do much to lighten the load of anxiety that presses on the

public conscience. Except in his closing sentences, which were full of dignity and courage, the Prime Minister's speech disappointed expectation. He showed a readiness to take points in his reply to Lord Kimberley which were adroit rather than forcible, and there was too much persiflage to suit the taste and temper of his audience. It drew, however, Lord Rosebery from his retirement. It was an effort addressed to a larger audience, emphatic in style, and of course brilliant in rhetorical effects.

I saw the Archbishop of Canterbury and arranged with him that, if the Form of Intercession could be obtained from the Prime Minister, he should bring his brother Archbishop, whom he seems to regard as a sort of pocket companion, to the Privy Council Office at one o'clock the following day, with a view to the issue of the proper order under the authority of the Lords of the Council.

January 31*st.*—After many adventures, which moved the Prime Minister to some irreverent jesting at the expense of the "spiritual persons" who were responsible, the Form of Intercession reached me just at the moment that the Archbishops were announced. There was nothing for it but to go through the Queen's corrections *seriatim* in their presence, at the risk of their being offended at the frankness of some of Her Majesty's criticisms. Fortunately they were in the best of humours, and agreed to everything suggested with expressions of the most loyal gratitude, mingled with surprise at the trouble the Queen had taken in the matter. I ventured to remark that Her Majesty obviously appreciated her responsibilities as the Supreme Head of the Church, a reference to the Act of Supremacy perhaps not particularly palatable to "spiritual persons" at the end of the nineteenth century.

February 7th.—The situation is distinctly clearer since Parliament met. The ineptitude and incapacity of the Opposition as an organised body, the woeful deficiency of tactical ability displayed by their leader, and the excellent speeches made by George Wyndham, Chamberlain, and Arthur Balfour, have for the moment vindicated the right of the Government not only to direct the issues of the war, but also to a suspension, which may be final, of any censure for the want of success that has at present marked its course. The country, through the electors of York, has by a remarkable coincidence re-echoed the voice of Parliament.

February 8*th.*—The methods of the War Office shake all confidence in their administrative efficiency. We are given to understand that they are overwhelmed with work, and yet they are ever ready to make incursions into departments of business for which they have no training, and that, too, in a manner that suggests spasmodic enterprise and patchwork responsibility.

It appears that part of their scheme for increasing the forces at home is to raise some special regiments from the soldiers who

have recently completed their term of service in the Reserve, and with this view the first step should be taken by a Royal Proclamation. Instead, however, of consulting the Privy Council Office as to the framework of such an instrument, a draft sprung into being somewhere in the recesses of the War Office, receives additions and deletions at the hands of the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Permanent Secretary, and then, still without consultation with those on whose responsibility it would be issued, is sent to the Queen and returned with a telegram from the Private Secretary expressing Her Majesty's approval of its terms.

It may be well understood that a document so composed was far too precious to be transmitted further without special precautions, and Sir R. Knox must have encroached seriously on his luncheon hour in bringing it in person to the Privy Council Office at two o'clock, when he left it with an intimation that it has been decided by the Government to issue it, and that a Council must be held for the purpose on Monday. I thought this a little peremptory, but a perusal of the document directed reflection into other channels, for a poorer production never enjoyed more distinguished parentage. It might have passed muster as a message from the Queen in the style of the "Court Circular" at a moment when the Empire was threatened with dissolution, but the proposal to throw the *disjecta membra* of so much panic and hysteria into a state document naked and unashamed, really suggests that the normal condition of the War Office is one of violent oscillation between coma and convulsions.

I sent it at once to the Lord President, who had an opportunity of speaking to Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords before he saw me at five o'clock, when I was not surprised to find that his views were the same, and relieved to know that the policy of such a proclamation had not been approved by the Cabinet, before whom the subject would come to-morrow.

February 9th.—Before the Cabinet I had a message from the Duke asking me to send in any references I could find in the past to Proclamations in similar circumstances. By dint of a very arduous search two were found, the first at the date of the "unnatural rebellion" in the Highlands (1745), and the second in 1759, when Pitt was marshalling the forces of the Empire for the great struggle with France; but neither of them gave any warrant for the style adopted on the present occasion: indeed, to discover any parallel for the note of personal, almost despairing, appeal we had to go back to a very curiously worded proclamation of the first year of Charles I (1625) for the manning of the Navy. The Cabinet was adjourned till the following day, and in the meantime I was able to throw into proper shape an alternative Proclamation, adhering as far as possible to precedent both in

form and substance, but so wrapping up and toning down the War Office material, with which I could not dispense after it had met with the Queen's approval, that it at last read with the sober dignity befitting a State Paper, in which violent emotion is altogether out of place. The Duke received it with much relief, and sent it at once to the Prime Minister. I heard the following day that the Cabinet was unanimous in preferring it to the War Office draft.

February 12th.—Lord Lansdowne's statement was awaited with great eagerness, and a full House assembled to hear him. Without any oratorical embellishments, but with the trained power of clear exposition and forcible arrangement, he unfolded the Government plans in a speech that lasted seventy minutes. So far as the permanent increase of the Army, particularly the artillery, was concerned, the proposals were hailed as adequate, and indeed the whole scheme seems well thought out and sagaciously planned.

February 21st.—The Lord President's Sheriffs' Dinner occurred at a moment of absorbing interest, as two days before a telegram from Lord Roberts (which was not published) had informed the Government that every available reinforcement of men and guns was being hurried to the front, with the object of enabling him to deliver an attack on Cronje's entrenchments at daybreak this morning; and the delay in hearing from him caused some anxiety to Ministers, Mr. Balfour going so far as to say he feared we must be prepared for bad news. However, Lord Lansdowne did not seem to think the non-arrival of any telegram in the course of the evening necessarily of bad significance, and the dinner passed off very cheerfully. Lord Salisbury had been summoned to Windsor, and was therefore absent; but the other principal members of the Cabinet, except Mr. Goschen, were present. I had Lord James on one side and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the other, and beyond each of them Mr. Chamberlain and Arthur Balfour. I had a good deal to say to Mr. Chamberlain about the new Birmingham University, and found him ready to discuss matters most agreeably. He has already thanked me very cordially for my help.

February 22nd.—It became known about midday that Roberts had not delivered his attack, as Cronje's position was hopeless, and the British army could afford to wait till artillery fire and slow approaches had done their work. In the evening I went with Bertie Mitford [1] to Lady Lansdowne's concert at Covent Garden, in aid of the Officers' Fund. We had very good stalls, for which £10 had probably been paid, and witnessed a remarkable effervescence of patriotic sentiment. Patti, whom Mitford remembered making her *début* in the same house nearly forty years

[1] Afterwards Lord Redesdale.

ago, sang with great voice and spirit for a lady approaching sixty. though passages from Gounod's "Marguerite" and "Juliette" were hardly the best suited to preserve illusions about her. Ten or twelve young ladies in *vivandière* attire sold programmes.

February 24th.—Lord Rosebery has severed the last tie that bound him to any political organisation, but reserves to himself the right, as the Chatham of the day, to influence politics by the sheer force of his personality.

February 25th.—Walter Rice, Lady Margaret, Harry, and Eva Anstruther, Lord Rowton, and Lucia Harvey came to luncheon. Rowton, with great tact, referred to some pages in the "Outlook," to which he had seen attached the signature of Eva Anstruther, who was very pleased at this recognition of her literary fame. He did not say, in the words of Balzac to another Eve, "Write what you please, but, as every woman should, burn what you have written."

February 27th.—The news of Cronje's surrender, though expected, has come as an immense encouragement and consolation to everyone. The transformation that one short fortnight has worked in the whole theatre of operations is a striking testimony to what a man rather than men can effect. Even Buller himself is at last gathering heart to display some skill, and the relief of Ladysmith can only be a few hours off.

March 1st.—If people were happy two days ago, they are now almost delirious. The news that Lord Dundonald entered Ladysmith last night has produced an extraordinary outburst of feeling and enthusiasm. The streets blossomed with bunting, to be followed in many cases by illuminations. The removal of a great anxiety, the dissipation of a gloomy presage that might at any moment have darkened into disaster, have restored to the people their natural buoyancy, and it is not surprising that here and there exultation took on extravagant shapes.

March 2nd.—This evening I have the custody of the new Great Seal, which to-morrow is to be submitted to Her Majesty in Council. It is extraordinarily heavy, of solid silver, and very finely executed, though the figure of the Queen "regardant" holding a sceptre, looks somewhat like that of the Pope blessing the Universe.

March 3rd.—To Windsor this morning with the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord James, an ex-judge, Sir F. North, to be sworn a Privy Councillor, and a new judge to be knighted. Notwithstanding careful drilling, Sir F. North made every blunder he could: forgot that he was to kiss the Queen's hand on his knee after he had taken the oath of allegiance, stood up, looked wildly round, and, when prompted, stretched his hand across the table with the object of seizing the Queen's. "On your knee, sir," I had to say, and, with a confused shuffle, he was at last got

into position and the concluding ceremonies performed. The Lord Chancellor, wreathed in smiles, received the new Seal after Her Majesty had laid her hand upon it in formal token of her approval. He had also redelivered to him the defaced old Seal, retiring with an odd absence of grace as he struggled to make the proper genuflexions with the weight of the two Seals, nearly half a hundredweight in the aggregate, hugged to his bosom. At the Lord Chancellor's earnest entreaty the Lord President had not exerted his strength to the damage of the old Seal, which will now remain a heirloom of the Giffard family, whose head has been Lord Chancellor for a longer period than any of his predecessors in the Queen's reign, and since the beginning of the century is only second to Lord Eldon. The Queen looked wonderfully well, and " pricked " the Sheriffs with great vigour, but with growing difficulty to distinguish the names, however carefully I pointed to the proper line. One name was wrongly pricked, and upon being informed of the mistake, the Queen, with her own finger, pieced together the broken parchment and put the bodkin in a second time.

We did not get back to London till 4.30. I went to Polesden in the evening, where they had a small party, including Lady Kitty Somerset, Miss Madeleine Stanley, and Herbert Stephen. The first-named lady has a weird and almost challenging beauty, suggestive of the enigmatic heroines of romance.

March 9th.—A long meeting of the Committee of Council under the London Government Act. The Duke being hardly recovered from a chill on his liver, was more than usually silent, and Edmond Wodehouse's accustomed reticence left the field open for floods of disconcerting eloquence from Lord James, who spoke at great length. However, in an hour and a half, interrupted by a rush to the other side of the building to see the Queen pass, we had got through the business on the agenda.

Last night I dined with Claude Hay to meet a party mostly of " cabotins," Correa and Paul Metternich being the only ingredients of a different type besides myself. Metternich, who is acting as Minister of the German Empire in Hatzfeldt's absence, has a face that might have been fixed in the contortions of some great agony, so curiously irregular are its contours and pained its expression. He struck me as a man of very considerable powers, and his conversation was stamped with a quality of great persuasiveness, which added to the dignity of his dejection. Here was evidently " a man of sorrows " ; his face might have been the model of one of Rubens's most poignant Descents from the Cross.

March 14th.—In the House of Lords this afternoon Lord Salisbury read, in tones of unusual emphasis and alertness, the communications which had been received from the President of

the Boer Republic, and the reply which he had made. Never were insolence, and the stupid reaction from cunning that had overreached itself, so conspicuous in any document. Its effrontery was impossible to disentangle from its simplicity: it was no longer wonderful that men capable of such declarations should have pursued the policy that less audacity or more intelligence would have taught them to be suicidal. Lord Salisbury's reply was most cogent in argument, almost scathing in condemnation, as he recited it with a lofty scorn it was unnecessary to conceal, and concluded with as emphatic an affirmation of irrevocable decision as the famous sentence upon Carthage, so far as the independent political existence of the two States was concerned.

The Duke of Devonshire, who had two questions to answer, did not arrive in time, and hove in sight of the inner lobby just as the peers were dispersing. He was very much aggrieved at the incident, and spoke as if he had been the victim of a practical joke on the part of the House at large. He is still far from well, and I urged him before we parted at Storey's Gate to go to a milder climate for a time; but I am afraid his dogged pertinacity will stand in the way of his taking such advice, in that he has before him a bill for the organisation of the new Board of Education.

Last night we dined at 78 Eaton Square, a dinner always excellent in every particular, and partaken by the right people. Lady Ampthill was looking her best, and is as delightful to talk to as she is to look at. I was glad to obtain from Ampthill a promise that I should see the Australian Federation Bill, the provisions of which, in reference to the appellate jurisdiction of the Queen in Council, excite great interest with us.

1901

My father's death on the 20th of last March threw so much work and responsibility on to my shoulders that this diary has been interrupted for more than nine months. I take up the pen again not only in a new century, but in a new reign. The opening of the century will always be shadowed in the estimation of our generation by the death of thc Queen, a calamity which the spontaneous emotion of every class in the community has freely recognised. There was, however, a dramatic fitness, which the historian will be able to appreciate, in the close of that striking and beneficent career coincidently with the passing of the period of time which it had illustrated and adorned.

I was twice at Balmoral in the autumn, and saw the Queen at three Councils after her return to Windsor, and cannot say that until the last I was struck with any marked indications of failing vitality. On the night I dined with her at Balmoral, towards the end of October, she appeared quite in her usual health.

It is a great satisfaction to think that she took this opportunity of giving me the two volumes of her "Highland Diary," with an inscription under her own hand in each, dated just three months before she laid down her pen for ever. I wrote her a letter in reply of dutiful and loyal gratitude, which it was given me to know had pleased her by its not being couched in the conventional terms to which she was accustomed.

It had been my good fortune in the summer, when interest in the war was at its highest, to send to Bigge a copy of a letter from a bugler boy in the Devons, who had sounded the charge by which the Boers were swept from Waggon Hill, the artless but vivid language of which had testified to the extraordinary effect which the idea of winning the Queen's direct approval had upon our soldiery. Her Majesty was so much touched by and interested in the letter, that she added it to the records of the war she carefully preserved, as will be seen from the subjoined note I had from Balmoral on the subject:

"The Queen is delighted with the Bugler's letter, and has kept it. Really it is marvellous what such a child could do, say, and think! As you say, one realises from these communications the wondrous magnetic influence of the simple messages sent by the Queen to her soldiers."

So little was the Queen's mental vigour affected by the cumulative losses and anxieties of the year, that at the Council on November 12th, when the transfer of seals incidental to the changes in the Cabinet took place, her memory guided us through the mazes of a somewhat intricate transaction whereon official records were dumb, and the recollections of ministers a blank. It is true that, in addition to the somewhat disquieting symptoms of loss of appetite, and an undue tendency to somnolence, periodic attacks of aphasia became more frequent, and on the very day I last saw the Queen—December 10th—she was, as I afterwards learnt, unable to speak to the Brazilian ambassador when he presented his credentials; but whether it was due to the invincible optimism of courts or to a deliberate blindness, no one appears to have anticipated the impending catastrophe.

It was only on January 15th that it was finally decided to give up the idea of the Queen's projected visit to the Riviera, and a fine of £800 paid to the hotel proprietor at Cimiez. On the 22nd the Queen died.

I had for some weeks been haunted with a fear that all was not right, and before the Duke of Devonshire went away for Christmas I got him to go over the precedents connected with the accession ceremonies, and mentioned certain points upon which I thought he should refer to the Prime Minister. The first result of this move, which events quickly showed to have been anything but premature, was a protest from Lord Salisbury

against "gruesome proceedings"; but nevertheless I obtained the Duke's permission to place myself in communication with such of the public departments the advice of which was necessary. I had hardly, however, begun to do so when, returning to London from a day in the country on the 17th, I found the Queen's illness placarded on every wall, and in five days all was over, and the heart that had beat so true to England and to duty for eighty years, still for ever.

No pen can describe the magnitude of the change. It is not only the passing of a great personality, the disappearance of a potent influence, the sudden and irreparable rupture of a relation that has bound things to a common centre for so long, it is a change from era to era. It is as if the standards of comparison, the criteria of taste, the very categories of thought, which have regulated the judgments and moulded the desires of two generations, were abruptly swept into the limbo of the past.

January 21st.—The news that reached us yesterday so clearly pointed to an early and fatal end of the Queen's illness, that I thought it necessary to ask the Duke of Norfolk to let me see some representative of the Heralds' College without delay, relative to their part in the accession ceremonies. They telegraphed this morning that Welldon, who is acting for Garter, should be with us as soon as possible. I was thus able to satisfy myself that everything would be *en train* for the Proclamation of the King at the proper moment, and turn to the examination of the precedents more directly affecting our own action. These unfortunately were not as full as we could have wished; our own records were in some respects at variance with, and in others did not confirm the notices in the "Gazette," while printed accounts for which more or less authenticity was claimed differed from both. These I determined to brush aside as of no consequence, and wherever possible adhere to the letter or be guided by the spirit of our own records, regulating our action where they failed altogether by the dictates of common sense.

I am bound to say I met with all possible assistance from the Public Departments I consulted with one single exception. Under the lax and easy-going rule of Sir K. Digby, the Home Office were not so pleasant to deal with. It came to my knowledge quite casually that they were informing other offices that the duty of summoning the Accession Council and of regulating its procedure devolved on them. This pretension I had to dispose of at once.

January 22nd.—I saw Spencer Ponsonby the first thing this morning, with a view to having everything ready at St. James's Palace in the event of it being selected as the place for the Accession Council. He was very much opposed to the admission of any but Privy Councillors and the City Contingent to the pre-

liminary proceedings, and certainly the idea of the Commonalty having right of access on such an occasion would be difficult to apply at the present day without risk of gross abuse. On reaching Whitehall I found that Mr. Balfour, who had been told overnight to expect a summons to Osborne at any minute (to which end a special train was kept at Victoria with steam up all night), was still in Downing Street, and I therefore went across to urge upon him to obtain the earliest possible instructions if, as seemed inevitable, the Queen should not survive the day. He was still at breakfast—12.30—though intending to start immediately afterwards ; but, with his usual pleasantness and accessibility, saw me at once, and promised to do his best to obtain prompt information for us on the points on which the Lord President had already communicated with Sir F. Knollys. There was some uncertainty as to the preparation of the Speech the new Sovereign has to make to the Council, for which on previous occasions Ministers have claimed partial if not complete responsibility, and it was necessary, at any rate, that the Prince of Wales should understand what was expeeted of him. It was in this connection that Lord Salisbury had been consulted by the Duke of Devonshire some weeks before, and delivered the astonishing opinion that the declaration made by the Queen in 1837 appeared to require very little change, and the Duke had to point out that at least two-thirds of it were quite inappropriate, and that the remainder required revision.

The accounts that reached us all through the day got steadily worse, and about five o'clock a telegram from Clarendon informed us that the Banqueting Hall, St. James's Palace, was the place selected for the Council. I made my way to Spencer Ponsonby about seven, and was with him when, at 7.10, a telephone message announced that all was over, the Queen having breathed her last in the majesty of perfect composure at 6.30. It was necessary at once to survey the Banqueting Hall and see what arrangements would have to be made, and just as we were starting we met Pembroke, who accompanied us. It was very dark, most of the caretakers were off duty, and in our efforts to reach the goal we were more than once baffled by locked doors. Indeed, we must have presented the appearance of conspirators as we threaded our way through the obscure purlieus of the Palace and at last emerged into the hall, the proportions of which were very dimly visible. It was not till eight o'clock that I got away, and found Jack Sandars and the Privy Council Office messenger at my door, both of whom I had to dispose of before I could dress for dinner, and did not arrive at 78 Eaton Square till 8.30. I had hardly been at the table ten minutes when a box came from the Lord President containing a letter from Knollys, with some of the information we wanted, including the announcement that

the royal style was to be Edward VII. I was back in Whitehall by ten, and went over to the Foreign Office to see "Pom" McDonnell and Sandars ; but it was not till eleven o'clock that we heard the Council was to be at 2 p.m. on the following day, and that all Privy Councillors were to be summoned. For three further hours we were engaged perfecting our preparations, and by 2 a.m. I was able to go to bed satisfied that the order of business and the ceremonial arrangements were complete so far as I was concerned.

January 23rd.—I looked in at St. James's Palace again and saw to the final arrangements of the room, and then went up to Devonshire House to coach the Duke, who told me I was to read the Proclamation. Hope and I, with the rest of our staff, reached St. James's Palace shortly after one, and it was not long before the Privy Councillors began to arrive, and it was plain we should have a big muster. Just before two the Duke of York sent for me to know what he was to do, and assented, if the King approved, to the Royal Dukes being sworn together. On ascending the steps from the entrance, I found my retreat cut off by the King's arrival, and, as I passed the room in which he was, he directed my presentation to him, and, speaking with great kindness and consideration, asked me to send Lord Salisbury to him, whom I found wandering about with that air of abstraction which is his wont. At last the moment arrived when the Lord President, with the Royal Dukes, the Archbishop, the Prime Minister, and the Lord Chancellor, repaired to the King to announce the assembly of the Council. On their return, after a few prefatory sentences from the Lord President, I read the Proclamation, which has a sustained stateliness of diction that makes it very impressive if properly delivered. A prolonged wait then ensued for the signing of the Proclamation, which threatened to become indefinite, so persistent were the representatives of the City in pressing round the table after they were told that the King was waiting to come in, and that they must retire. Unfortunately, the Lord President was not very explicit in the directions he gave, and matters were further complicated by the resistance of the Lord Mayor, who, as in 1837, preferred the preposterous claim that he was a Privy Councillor, and as such entitled to remain. Without claiming to have "ejected" him in the language of Charles Greville, I had to insist upon his withdrawal, and refuse to acknowledge the City records as conferring any validity on his pretensions. I heard afterwards that he threatened to raise the question later ; how, was not said ; but the City Remembrancer, with whom I was able to confer after the Council was over, admitted the logic of our position, and I suppose convinced the Lord Mayor of the folly of his conduct, as nothing more came of the incident. The difficulty of swearing so many Privy Councillors

was got over with less confusion than expected, and both Clarendon and Portland said they never saw so large a function better arranged. I was glad to have this assurance confirmed from so high an authority as the King himself, who received me at Marlborough House the same afternoon, and was complimentary to everything except the pens, which might indeed have been described, in the vigorous language of William IV, as d——d bad.

My object in going to Marlborough House was to obtain the text of the King's declaration to his Council for publication in the "Gazette," and I was rather disturbed to hear from Knollys that, so far as he knew, no notes existed. This the King confirmed, and seemed rather surprised that we had not made arrangements for his being adequately reported. Apart from the precedents which pointed to the new Sovereign having invariably made the declaration from a carefully prepared and written form, it was not easy to reconcile the presence of reporters with the character of the meeting; but the question for the moment was how to provide the text. The King intimated to Lord Suffield that Lord Rosebery's retentive memory might be brought into requisition, and added the suggestion that my memory was probably good enough to recall what he said. It was easy to say that I had listened with great attention and been much impressed by His Majesty's remarks, but I confessed to some hesitation in assuming so grave a responsibility. However, the King was very pleasant about it, and I left undertaking to see that the difficulty should be surmounted somehow. Two hours afterwards, while I was with the Lord President, Lord Suffield and Arthur Balfour arrived: the former had recovered from the depths of Lord Rosebery's memory the main sequence of the sentences, and the King had made some revision of it in extremely illegible pencil marks. With this to work upon, I was able to restore the exordium and some other phrases which I remembered had been used, and then from the Duke's dictation I wrote out a fair copy which both Arthur Balfour and Suffield agreed was as near the original as possible. Mr. Balfour raised the point whether the King was correct in describing all the six Edwards as his ancestors. I maintained he was, as the term did not imply lineal descent so much as succession; and Lord Suffield thought the same. Later Suffield returned, having submitted the draft to the King, who was quite content with it; and the declaration has now taken its place among State documents of the highest interest and value.

January 24*th*.—Another Council was held at Marlborough House this morning, at which the changes in the Liturgy were approved, and some other Privy Councillors sworn. The Duke of York is to hold the title of Cornwall prefixed to that of York, but not to become Prince of Wales for some time. The usual

procedure as to Councils was reversed on this occasion, as we were shown into the Council-room in the first instance, and the King then came in and shook hands with us all round. The King asked me afterwards to edit the account of the Council for the "Court Circular." He left London immediately for Osborne. I hear that a heated discussion took place yesterday as to the persons who should be charged with the responsibility of the Queen's funeral. There is some direction of Lord Sydney's time that all matters connected with the funeral of the King, Queen, or Heir Apparent were vested in the Lord Chamberlain, and that official was preparing to act in accordance therewith. The Duke of Norfolk maintained, however, that his right to bury the Sovereign, as Earl Marshal of England, should not suffer any derogation, and stoutly, though with perfect courtesy, withstood the opposition and induced the King to acknowledge his claim. It required some courage on the part of the Duke so far to overcome his natural modesty, and that, too, at a time when the Press had been inflaming the public mind against him for his so-called indiscretion in Rome; but in the next ten days he may have cause to repent having so strenuously preferred his claim, as without any regular organisation he will have to arrange all the details of a notable pageant—I am afraid, with no great help from the Lord Chamberlain's officials. The magnitude of the task will be to some extent lessened by the very precise directions left by the Queen upon the form it should take.

This afternoon the leaders in both Houses of Parliament addressed themselves to the delivery of their panegyrics on the late Queen. Lord Salisbury, in proposing an Address of Condolence with the King, spoke forcibly and well, but there was an absence of that sustained majesty of diction which the House had a right to look for on such an occasion. Lord Kimberley fell into a garrulous vein of personal reminiscences, in which there was more about himself than the Queen, and appeared to expect the Peers to share his surprise that *once* her judgment proved sounder than his own. Despite his harsh voice and downright manner, some observations that followed from the Archbishop of Canterbury struck a higher note than either of the preceding speeches. The greatest triumph, however, was achieved in the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour. In exquisite sentences of moving and measured eloquence he depicted the laborious life in which the Queen had spent herself for the nation's service, and brought the image of her daily toil most vividly before his hearers by a pathetic reference to the last wavering signature and the pile of documents untouched by the vanished hand. It was of the same high quality as the tribute to Mr. Gladstone three years ago, and the memorable description of his im-

passioned speeches lying cold and undistinguished in the pages of Hansard with those of lesser men.

On leaving the House I was attacked by Lord Acton for having allowed the King to commit "the howler" of describing the last two Edwards as his ancestors. He appeared to think he had completely established his case by quoting the well-known story of Lord Macaulay's correction of the Queen when she called James II her ancestor, so slow is the tradition of Lord Macaulay's infallibility to disappear. I was not much impressed, and was glad to find my view supported by the most authoritative of modern dictionaries, wherein "ancestor" is explained as "one, whether a progenitor or a collateral relative, who has preceded another in the course of inheritance." I told Arthur Balfour afterwards of the find, who charged me to rub it into Acton, which I did, without, however, eliciting any withdrawal of his opprobrious language!

January 31*st.*—In issuing the invitation "to assist at the interment" of the late Queen, some curious oversights were permitted. Thus, Lord Cadogan showed me his invitation, wherein it was Lady Cadogan, and not he, who was asked to come "in trousers," a circumstance to which I called the Earl Marshal's attention when he was chaffing me a day or two later about some alleged misadventure on the part of the Privy Council.

February 2*nd.*—The morning of the Queen's funeral opened cold and cheerless, but about eleven the canopy of cloud showed signs of breaking. A great gathering of Ministers, ex-Ministers, their wives, and prominent officials assembled at Paddington to be conveyed to Windsor by the midday special. All along the route, wherever a view of the line could be obtained, crowds of people dressed in black were awaiting the *convoi* of the dead Queen. The sun shone brightly as we came in view of the great pile that so fitly sums up and embalms the past glories of the British Monarchy. It was a strangely consorted company, but one in feeling, that left the station and threaded its way through the crowded streets of the royal borough to the chapel so intimately associated with the lives and deaths of successive dynasties of Kings. A very long wait ensued, which the coldness of the chapel aggravated intensely. A movement of the Archbishop and clergy to the west door, and the minute-guns announcing the arrival of the funeral train at Windsor, for a moment excited expectation, but another long pause, and a still more sombre stillness fell upon the scene. A member of the choir was taken away fainting, and the stalwart figure of the octogenarian Archbishop seemed the only one in the long white procession unaffected by the strain. At last the west doors were flung open, and up the steep steps was borne the casket containing the dead Queen's body: the extreme shortness of it struck one with pathetic

insistence ; almost a child's coffin this, yet so deep and heavy, and hardly a coffin at all in shape, so near the centre was its widest point. Preceded by the choir chanting those sentences which have in them something of the echo of all the dead we have seen carried to their last asylum, followed by Kings and Emperors and a galaxy of their representatives and attendants, and surrounded by all that was best and noblest in the Kingdom she had so long ruled, the body of Queen Victoria passed into the choir, and all that reached us were the broken accents of dirge and homily, till the thrilling voice of Garter proclaimed the style and titles of the dead and hailed the advent of a living King. It was fully four o'clock before we reached St. George's Hall, where an excellent luncheon was provided for some eight hundred people. I had all I wanted in a very few minutes, and returned to the station with the Duke of Grafton, who told me the Duke of Cambridge had spoken to him very dismally about the Queen's death, and was very much broken by the blow. "I shall go soon myself," he groaned, and to cheer him up the Duke of Grafton said he was nearly as old himself, upon which the old Duke said almost cheerfully, "Ah ! we will both go together." We came up with the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn, and reached London about half past five.

February 9th.—A Council was held at Marlborough House in connection with the time-honoured fiction that the King's Speech is approved thereat.

In the preparation of this his first Speech from the Throne, His Majesty showed a keen desire to translate into action his accession pledge to work for the amelioration of his people by urging upon Ministers a programme of social improvement ; but, alas, the legacy of war and other calls upon the time and money at the disposal of Parliament made it impracticable.

February 14th.—The opening of Parliament by the King passed off very satisfactorily. In the end the claims of the ladies and the Peers were satisfactorily adjusted, and some three hundred of the former are said to have been in the Chamber. Popular enthusiasm was in no sense remarkable ; perhaps too many felt the contrast between this and the last spectacle in which London was asked to assist. The scene in the House of Lords was, I am told, very striking. Both Waterford and Manvers spoke with judgment and ability : the former's style was the more cultivated, though he did not speak with the other's assurance. I came away when Lord Kimberley let loose the floods of his garrulity. Lord Rosebery entered, as his wont is, very late, when the House was at its fullest.

Victor Churchill gave me some interesting details about his mother and her last intercourse with the Queen. Contrary to the usual practice, she travelled from Windsor to Osborne in the

Queen's saloon, and these two, who were never again to cross the Solent alive, looked their last upon it together. It appears, for five days after her arrival at Osborne, the Queen was so prostrate that she saw no one, not even Lady Churchill. So impressed was Lady Churchill with the change, when she did see her, that she remarked to her confidential maid that the Queen was a dying woman. It fell to her lot, however, to precede her mistress by exactly four weeks. She went to her bedroom at 11.30 so well that her maid, contrary to custom, left her before she was in bed, having received orders to call her in time for early service on Christmas morning. When the hour came she had trodden the silent way. Truly, *Felix opportunitate mortis.*

February 15th.—Strathcona's Horse, a bronzed and stalwart, if somewhat haggard lot of men, entered London and were received by the King at Buckingham Palace. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Brodrick were unable to attend the earlier part of the Cabinet Council in consequence, upon which Lord Salisbury pleasantly apologised for the absence of "the two military members of the Cabinet," who he hoped would return safely from their *ride* !

February 28th.—Clarendon met me this morning and expressed some fear that the Duke of Norfolk would not begin the preparations for the Coronation early enough to avert a repetition of the confusion that attended the funeral ceremonies. He spoke sadly of the tendency in high quarters to interfere in matters of detail, and told me that the question whether the Peers who went in the procession to the House of Lords the other day were to be robed or not was four times settled and unsettled, and finally left as he had arranged it in the first instance. The amount of friction and disorder caused by such frequent changes is incalculable, and it is not surprising that he views the future with some apprehension. However, he was comforted to know that the Committee of Council would stand between the King and the officials immediately responsible for the Coronation, with which indeed his department has very little direct concern. He confirmed my belief that Spencer Ponsonby feels acutely the severance of his ties with the department. His resignation anticipated his dismissal by a very few hours, otherwise Clarendon would have been charged with the disagreeable duty of communicating to him, as he did to others, that their services were no longer required. The King has shown consideration wherever he could conveniently find other places for those dismissed, but he has to keep in view the claims of personal adherents, whose gratification has been so long postponed, and of course his own inclination is to do all he can for them.

It was proposed to the King that the Duke of Cornwall should be empowered to hold a Council in the Antipodes, in order to swear in members of the late Queen's Council, and at the beginning

of the week the Duke of Devonshire's letter on the subject came back with the royal approval. Twenty-four hours later Knollys, to whom I had unfolded the project, wrote that the King preferred they should be declared Privy Councillors by Order. I saw Knollys this morning, who was very civil about it, and appeared nonplussed by this evidence of variation in the royal mind. The matter is complicated by the reluctance of the Colonial Office to agree to any arrangement that will give prominence to Rhodes being resworn.

March 5th.—The House of Lords have been occupied two days in the discussion of Army Reform on the motion of the Duke of Bedford. The sensation of the first day's debate was Lord Lansdowne's reply to Wolseley. The late Commander-in-Chief, in a prolix statement which had been carefully committed to writing, complained that his position had been that of one whose authority was undermined by the Order in Council of 1895, and that he was practically powerless to effect anything in the face of a system which placed the principal members of the Army Board in direct communication with the Secretary of State, whom he compared to a householder who should be guided by the opinion of the foreman of the works instead of consulting the architect.

There is this element of truth in the criticism, that the Order in Council did designedly place the Commander-in-Chief in an altogether altered relation to the Secretary of State and the principal members of the Military Staff : it had been contemplated to go further, as the Hartington Commission, of whose report the Order in Council was the outcome, had recommended the abolition of the office. To this I believe, apart from other considerations, invincible objection was taken by the Queen, and the Commander-in-Chief remained, with his duties in certain particulars approximated to those of a Chief of the Staff. To this " degradation " of the office Wolseley was never reconciled. Lord Lansdowne, in reply, though he did not give, perhaps, a very conclusive defence of the system, so far destroyed the evidence upon which the attack was based by challenging the competence of the witness. He enlarged on Raglan's text that the authority of the Commander-in-Chief was under the Order in Council pretty well what he chose to make it, and that Lord Wolseley had preferred to efface himself, or merely give displays of fitful energy which were perhaps more embarrassing than effacement, and that on matters where he should have spoken with authority no light or leading was furnished. This is what those behind the scenes have known for a long time.

March 6th.—The Lord President's Sheriffs' Dinner was a very small affair, as with only ten days' notice most Ministers were engaged ; but with only ten at the table Lord Salisbury's instant playfulness could be more generally appreciated. I never saw him so light-hearted or more disposed to that half-sarcastic banter

which makes him so delightful a companion. Somebody turned the conversation on the leakiness of Cabinets : " The '80 Cabinet," said Lord Salisbury, " was very bad. Devonshire could tell us something about that." And indeed he could. When we were going through the Sheriffs' List, Lord Salisbury rambled over the names, and suddenly interjected some humorous remark about one we had passed, or had not come to, which was a trifle disconcerting, but very funny.

March 9th.—At a Council to-day Lord Roberts was sworn and an Order passed providing for the Duke of Cornwall holding a Council in Australia, in order to reswear members of her late Majesty's Privy Council in the Antipodes. Both these steps I had recommended very strongly to the Lord President, and was gratified at their receiving the royal *imprimatur*. It is, I think, a matter of signal importance as marking the evolution of some coherent idea of the British Empire, that the Heir Apparent should in this the first year of the twentieth century hold a Council on the King's behalf in Melbourne and Sydney, in order to confirm in their relation to the Throne the Australian politicians who were made Privy Councillors by the Queen. Her reign may be said to have covered the growth of the Commonwealth toward the dignity of a title, the grant of which was one of the last of her sovereign acts.

The King evinced much interest in the bodkin with which the Roll of Sheriffs is pricked, and asked the Lord President how long it had been used. The Duke looked blankly at me, and I had the wit to say : " It dates from a time when Your Majesty's ancestors were more expert with the sword than the pen " ; which was well received.

The statement of the War Minister last night, and the evidence it afforded of the share the Commander-in-Chief has had in shaping the military policy of the Government, comes at an awkward moment for those who were impressed by Lord Wolseley's recent complaints.

March 21st.—I spent a couple of hours at the Heralds' College to look over Coronation records, and had luncheon there with W. Lindsay, Windsor Herald, who gave me fuller information than is to be had from other sources. The place is full of curious books and documents of great antiquity. The volume from whieh Prince Arthur, elder brother of Henry VIII, was taught heraldry is a splendid example of the research and execution of the epoch in its particular line, the coloration of the heraldic emblems being extraordinarily fine. Among things of special interest I noticed a pedigree of the Saxon Kings, by which a twelfth-century investigator traces their descent from Adam, and discovers the singular fact that the Father of Mankind died of the gout !

March 23*rd*.—The political dulness of the week has been broken by the hysterics of the House of Commons. In making a communication to the House of Lords that the crisis over the siding at Tientsin was at an end, the Secretary of State omitted to see that a similar intimation was made in the Commons, though many members of that House were present in the other Chamber, and the Exchange Telegraph Company's slips placed the House at large in possession of what had been said a few minutes later. The House of Commons has, however, to compensate itself for the loss of dignity involved in almost daily displays of violence and bad manners, by occasional fits of self-importance, and such an opportunity could not be lost. Members of Parliament are slow to realise how rapidly the credit of the House of Commons as an institution is declining. The public at large care not a jot how information reaches them, and it would seem to any reasonable mind that either branch of the Legislature was a fitting channel for ministerial communications to the Empire. Relations between Parliament and the country have become radically altered. The power of the Press, and the creation, partly thereby and partly by the operation of other agencies, of a public opinion independent of and indifferent to the claims of the popular Chamber, have relegated Parliament, as a political mouthpiece, to a subordinate position, where, if it so wills, it can still play a useful though less authoritative part.

The inner history of the incident shows the absurdity of the fuss it has excited. Before going to the House of Lords, the Foreign Secretary had seen Cranborne and arranged with him the replies to be made to the questions on the paper; two telegrams had come in which there was no pressing necessity to communicate to Parliament, but as Lord Spencer had been asking for information persistently, Lord Lansdowne took them with him and let Lord Spencer know that if he chose to put a question, he would be able to satisfy him up to a certain point. Lord Lansdowne admits that when this offer was accepted and the statement made he might have let his Under-Secretary know its purport, and was willing that his share in the business should be disclosed. Mr. Balfour, however, with what may appear to some unnecessary chivalry, but, as I think, not willing to sacrifice to the rancour of certain persons a Minister who has for months been the target of malignant attack, declined to give him away, and used language which the Parliamentary Rump resented as an evasion, and found next day in Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman a spokesman who ought to have been ashamed of such a part. Now that the whole thing is over, the Foreign Office may perhaps congratulate themselves that the merits of the agreement have been overlooked in the eagerness of the House of Commons to treat the method of its communication as a personal affront.

The "Daily News" takes Hugh Cecil to task for having declared the House of Commons "an institution which has ceased to have much authority and repute," and suggests that he should be boycotted by his colleagues. They would be better occupied, in the estimation of the intelligent critic, in seeking the causes of such decay, and in prescribing to themselves standards of conduct which may arrest it.

March 23rd.—At the Council to-day Spencer Ponsonby received his solatium in the shape of a Privy Councillorship. His lumbago was so bad that I had to assist him to kneel.

April 9th.—I have been at Torquay for ten days without exchanging a word with anyone, which is the most effective way I know of obtaining complete rest. It was a pleasure, however, to make a change this last evening and dine with Jack Sandars and his wife, who have a house in a beautiful position on the hill overhanging the harbour. He is doubtful about the future in the not improbable event of Lord Salisbury's health failing suddenly. In conversation with Victor Cavendish a little while ago, he gathered that in his view, which is probably a representative one, it would be regarded as a proper tribute to his long political career and great political influence if the Duke of Devonshire was allowed the reversion of the Premiership for a while. Sandars foresees many obstacles. Many would believe, I think erroneously, that it would mean the ascendancy of Mr. Chamberlain, and the deliberate policy of the Liberal Unionists in keeping up a separate organisation would, in the eyes of most Conservatives, constitute an invincible objection to such an arrangement. In my judgment, however, it would have appreciable advantages, granted its provisional character. It would necessitate a single organisation, and thus contribute to the ultimate and inevitable fusion. Except for the decisive influence he may exercise in Council on his colleagues, Lord Salisbury is no more now than when Foreign Secretary an effective Prime Minister; the ingrained habit of leaving the Premiership to look after itself keeps him as reluctant as ever to undertake its burdens. It would be no advantage to Mr. Balfour to assume the direction of the party immediately on Lord Salisbury's withdrawal; an interval of the Duke's premiership would give him dependence on one who never shirks labour or responsibility, and enable him rapidly to regain his hold on the House of Commons. The co-operation of the two would, I think, have the best results; their wide divergences of temper and intelligence would lead to a more complete survey of every aspect of a problem than can flow from consultation between intellects with such profound affinities as those of Arthur Balfour and Lord Salisbury. The very slowness of the Duke's mental processes, of which Mr. Balfour's quick intelligence is sometimes impatient, makes him invaluable in discussion, because he is never

convinced until he has traced to his own satisfaction the ultimate developments of a line of policy, and is not content, like most men, with a general perception of it. The Duke's rugged candour makes self-deception impossible. It is told of him that, in the gloomiest days of our troubles in the Sudan, he was having luncheon with Lord Granville on the Derby day, and his host having said something in the way of commiseration of their lot in order to relieve his depression, he replied, " We should be better there than here " ; upon which my informant, who was present, said, " At any rate, the Derby is not being run at this moment, and we should not have such a good luncheon." " No," answered the Duke, " but we should not be doing such mischief to our country." It was about this time that he wrote in Lady Granville's book, " Now is the winter of our discontent."

April 11th.—Sir George Trevelyan called at the office this morning to ascertain when he could be resworn as a Privy Councillor. He told me no act of his life had been so little repented as his departure from the House of Commons, which was a notable admission. Seymour Finch has returned delighted with his experiences as a member of Carrington's special mission to announce the accession at Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon.

The King of Spain's health prevented his reception of the Mission till just before they left; the Queen-mother evinced great interest in the proceedings, and called their attention to the Order which he was wearing, adding that it was the gift of the Queen of England to her son : " I think you call it the Victoria Cross." After this who can say that the Victorian Order is destitute of prestige ?

A good story was told me to-night of a Scotsman who had been describing the tenets of the three principal religious bodies in Scotland to an intelligent but perplexed Southerner, who was forced to confess that he did not see much difference. " Aye, there may not be in this life, but there will be all the difference in the world in the next ! " was the conclusive reply.

May 1st.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer's resolution in dealing with the opposition to the Budget has effectually disposed of a most unprincipled agitation. Lord John Hay tells me that while the mines in which he was interested would undoubtedly be hit, as all their business was in the export line and the margin of profit at present prices small, he cannot bring himself to condemn the policy of the tax.

May 24th.—The narrow escape of the King a few days ago, while yachting with Lipton, gave many cause for reflection as to what might have happened had some of the flying blocks taken a different course. The Lord President has had his fears excited, and sent for me to know how we should have stood if any unfortunate fatality had occurred. As a matter of fact,

an Act passed immediately on the late Queen's accession provided for a Council of Regency in the absence abroad of the heir to the Throne, and empowers that personage, whenever he leaves the country, to place the names of three nominees of his own under seal in the hands of three specified individuals, one of whom is to be his own selection. Of course the Duke of Cornwall had not availed himself of this privilege before he left the country.

May 30th.—We spent Whitsuntide at Denton, and had a most pleasant time in a charming house and with all that could be wished in the way of entertainers and entertainment. I was interested in seeing Belvoir, more perhaps from the distinction that attaches to the present Duke of Rutland and the traditions of the family than because the house itself is a very fine one. The position is of course superb, and the gardens revel in the beauty of their surroundings. There is one picture by Hoppner of the Duke's mother, who was the daughter of George Selwyn's Lord Carlisle, which has all the master's peculiar grace.

The Hyltons came the last night of our visit; her wit and vivacity have an element of surprise which makes her a delightful companion.

June 15th.—The Dukes of Richmond and Rutland, both eighty-three years of age, attended a Council in order to be sworn. At the conclusion of the Council I had a long talk with Knollys about the arrangements for the Coronation, which he had described in a letter to the Lord President. The King, or those immediately about him, seem somewhat reckless of precedent, and though precedent in matters of the kind is obviously liable to change, there should be a method in the modifications introduced, and with a view to historic continuity the changes that are made should seem to grow out of altered conditions, and not be loosely grafted on them. In course of conversation opportunities suggested themselves for reconciling innovation with usage, and investing the King's ideas with the prestige of tradition, and it is to this line of conduct that I hope to keep the preparations so far as they are in my hands. There is obviously much to be said for placing the Earl Marshal in a position to direct a competent staff and have experienced assessors, and, if care is taken to spare susceptibilities, the plan of making him the Chairman of an Executive Committee of Officials may work. The Lord President had doubted the prudence of our preparing a Proclamation in the absence of precise instruction to do so, but, finding the King was anxious that the Executive should get to work early in July, I took the responsibility of leaving with Knollys a copy of a Proclamation which I had drafted with the object of setting things in motion as far as possible on the old lines.

June 17th.—I received the Proclamation back from Knollys approved in substance, but with an alteration in the references to

the Queen, and giving Wednesday the 26th for its consideration and approval by the King in Council.

June 22nd.—The King has apparently been troubled by misgivings as to his alterations of the reference to the Queen, as instructions have now come from Sandringham to revert to the phraseology first proposed, if it was that adopted on past occasions. Knollys sent me a very courteous communication from the King, asking me to serve on the Executive Committee.

I had an hour with Clarendon this morning about the Coronation preparations. To my surprise, he knew nothing, and had evidently not been consulted on matters closely touching the business of his own office.

At Osterley in the afternoon there was a great number of people. Fleetwood Edwards went down with me and seemed to enjoy mixing in general society after the cloistered life he had led so long in personal attendance on the late Queen.

June 26th.—The King did his best to invest the Coronation Council with unusual deliberation and dignity, as the Councillors were seated for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort, and I was directed to read the Proclamation before the royal signature was affixed to it. I had an audience with H.M. before the Council, when he took a lively interest in deciding which of the names should be read out, and, to provide against any lapse of my memory, insisted on marking the document in two places. He appeared almost anxious to initiate a discussion on the subject, as he asked the Lord President whether he should write opinions upon the text of the document, which fortunately he neglected to do. Lord Dufferin took the oath as a Privy Councillor, and then the nine present took their seats and I read the Proclamation. The Duke of Norfolk was given instructions for its formal promulgation.

June 29th.—Sir Frank Lascelles gave me a most deplorable account of the condition of the Empress Frederick. The use of morphia is forbidden because of its effects upon the heart, which were almost fatal last October, and the poor woman has, therefore, no alleviation of her pains. The disease, however, has not yet threatened any vital part, and the doctors say a long time may elapse before it does. She has now lived swathed in flannels for months, and yet at times she recovers much of her old vitality and with a perfectly unclouded brain talks of the future and the possibility of her visiting England. The Empress told Sir Frank the other day that she had grown exactly like the late Queen ; it is the fashion to speak of her as better and taking long drives, when, poor soul, she is merely placed on a carriage couch wrapped in the sheets of her bed.

July 1st.—Twenty-two members of the Coronation Committee of Council assembled in the Council-chamber to-day, and passed

several formal orders. Clarendon and Pembroke wished to secure a change in the composition of the Executive Committee, by which they and the Master of the Horse should be *ex-officio* members. I had given Clarendon some good reasons why he should not press the point at this juncture, and they were content with merely raising it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in referring to it as composed of "subordinate officials," was humorously taken to task by Lord Salisbury for including the Bishop of Winchester in such a designation. On the Order to the Archbishop for the abridgment of the service, Lord Salisbury asked whether it was done on each occasion, and expressed his surprise that any of it was left. Carrington asked that orders for particulars should be sent to the Lord Great Chamberlain in accordance with precedent, but I pointed out to the Duke of Devonshire that there was no longer any reason for addressing such an order to him, and that proceedings in 1838 proved the futility of the claim. Sir W. Harcourt seemed disposed to support it, but Lord Spencer spoke strongly against it, and ultimately it was decided to adjourn the claim for further investigation. Carrington disclosed his real motive to be a general assertion of that hereditary dignitary's position, quite apart from the merits of the particular issue involved in his proposal. I had foreseen some trouble in this connection, and had warned Francis Knollys. The view of Marlborough House, however, appears to be that difficulties are best met by ignoring them.

July 5th.—The question of the Lord Great Chamberlain in reference to the Coronation has entered on a new phase, as Cholmondeley has now written to the Lord President asking to be put on to the Executive Committee and repeating the stale pretensions that Carrington thought so important. I had prepared a memorandum for circulation to the Committee of Council, drawing a distinction between the relation of the Lord Great Chamberlain to the preparations and to the ceremony itself, which effectually disposed of that official's claim in connection with the former; and this I was instructed by the Lord President to distribute, with a note on Lord Cholmondeley's letter. It appears, however, that the Attorney-General, having had submitted to him the different claims to the Lord Great Chamberlainship for their investigation on the part of the Crown, has come to the conclusion, or is likely to come to the conclusion, that material facts were withheld from the consideration of the Court in Charles II's reign, when the hereditary privileges attending on the office passed from the de Veres to the Berties, and again on the death of the fourth Duke of Ancaster, the upshot of which may be that there are no valid claims to the office, which can only be revived by the Act of the Crown. If this is so, and I am assured by Desart that when he last had cognizance of the investigation such an issue was

highly probable, the disputants who have pursued these claims with such vigour and tenacity will look rather foolish.

July 7th.—Sunday at Batsford with Bertie Mitford; Henry Yorke, Sir J. Murray Scott, and Mr. Joseph Peabody, an evergreen New Englander of strong English proclivities, formed the rest of the party, with our host's two daughters. Beautifully situated on a spur of the north Cotswolds, the foreground to the house has been most judiciously handled to give the best effect to fine trees and at the same time to open the distance to the eye. Some 120 acres of the hill-side have been laid out in a wild garden, for the decoration of which the four quarters of the globe have been ransacked to furnish every flowering plant and foliaged shrub, growing wilder in character and arrangement till it blends with the natural woodland on the crest of the hill. The whole is traversed by a cleverly improvised watercourse, dotted with spacious pools, in which every species of coloured water-lily lies open to the sun. Among the delicate forest draperies are to be seen the mysterious symbols of Oriental devotion: a colossal Buddha, crowned with a nimbus, gazes on the sacred stag and hind, while the foreground of a Japanese rest-house is adorned with two gigantic lanterns which once guarded the entrance to a temple in Pekin.

Sir J. Murray Scott had some curious facts to relate as to the paternity of Sir R. Wallace: he is inclined to the view, which is now generally accepted, that Sir Richard was the fourth Lord Hertford's "uterine brother," though there is no doubt Sir Richard up to the last believed himself to be Lord Hertford's son. There are difficulties about both theories, but the impression that Lord Hertford knowingly encouraged a false theory in order to save the reputation of his mother is probably correct. At any rate, he could only have been eighteen when Sir Richard was born, and the fact of the latter having for some years borne the name of Jackson is a slender basis for the belief that he was Lord Hertford's son by the wife of a brother officer named Jackson.

July 10th.—The first meeting of the Executive Committee for the Coronation met at 12, and did not break up till 2.5. All the members were present, and as the circumstances of the case precluded any prearrangement of the order of business, a great deal of desultory conversation ensued, from which the Duke of Norfolk, who presided, had some difficulty in distilling any result. A very large amount of time was consumed in discussing the "Homage," and certain recommendations to the King were at last adopted, which it was hoped would confine that time-honoured ceremony within reasonable bounds.

July 12th.—The King and the Lord Chancellor have fallen out over the Committee's report[1] on the Royal Declaration. It appears

[1] A Committee had been charged with the consideration of the subject.

His Majesty took umbrage at its publication as a parliamentary paper before submission to him. The Lord Chancellor very properly took full responsibility for this, and explained to the Committee that he had regarded it as a purely ministerial matter, and (probably as an after-thought) said he thought it to His Majesty's advantage to be kept out of it. He then, in order to put himself right with the King, had recourse to Arthur Ellis, who imprudently forwarded his letter. The King sent the letter back with an intimation to the Chancellor that it was not the way to address him, and the Lord Chancellor, who had innocently thought that the best way to get the matter settled was to employ as intermediary a friend of both parties, had to pocket the snub. He then went in a proper spirit to the King, who allowed himself to be mollified and accepted the Chancellor's explanations, though adhering to his opinion that he ought to have been apprised earlier.

The attempt at revision has been a failure. Catholics, who were disposed to shrug their shoulders at the Declaration as the expression in obsolete language of the mere echo of outworn controversies, object to its re-enactment, even in the modified terms of a polite dissent, and there is every reason to fear that the champions of Protestantism will seek to revive in the most unedifying form the passions of the past.

July 16*th*.—Another long meeting of the Executive (Coronation) Committee. The list of business had, however, some effect in keeping it to the point, though there are more members than can conveniently do the work. John Thynne read a report from the Surveyor of the Abbey giving a highly coloured picture of the disaster that might ensue if the usual stand for about four hundred people was placed above the altar. It beggared imagination to think of the occupants of this stand being shot down like a living cascade upon the King and the Archbishops and great Officers of State, just at the crisis of the ceremonial, and, though there was reason to think the Surveyor an alarmist, it was decided to discontinue the stand. The question of the Homage was definitely settled.

Friction appears inevitable between the Earl Marshal and the Lord Chamberlain's department. With the first there is perhaps some undue sensitiveness and a suspicion that it is intended to reduce his direction of the arrangements to a nullity. If, however, it is admitted that there are large classes of persons whose prescriptive claims to be present can only be satisfied by an officer in the Earl Marshal's position, and others in the determination of whose applications the Lord Chamberlain's office can give valuable assistance, there should not be much difficulty in establishing a concordat.

Lord Salisbury was asked the other day whether he played

bridge, and replied, no, but he thought of learning, as then he might get to know the Duke of Devonshire.

July 17*th.*—Lord Rosebery has destroyed the carefully constructed paradise of Liberal unity at one blow. In a few trenchant sentences he has exposed the hollowness of the pretensions to identity of feeling which animated the Reform Club truce, and laid bare the deep-seated causes of disintegration.

The first sitting of the Court of Claims did not excite much public interest; a strong Court, however, assembled, and at the Duke of Norfolk's instance the Lord Chancellor was invited to preside. The public were excluded while certain questions of procedure were under discussion, during which Lord Ashbourne threatened to give some trouble, but did not press his point. On the Court reopening, a list of claims was read and an adjournment till November agreed to. The Chancellor appears to have recovered his equanimity.

July 18*th.*—The trial of Lord Russell was an imposing and dignified ceremony, though the comic element was not wanting, when the Lord High Steward (the Lord Chancellor) donned his cocked hat and looked severely round. The ladies, who thronged the Court, had to listen for two hours in great heat to a dull legal argument, and then the accused pleaded guilty. The opinion is universal that his speech in exculpation of himself was conceived in excellent taste and delivered with a singular mixture of modesty and composure. The Lord Chancellor in difficulties with his wand, when the moment came to break it, was cruel to witness; it was of stout ash, and, no notch having been made in it, the little man struggled in vain for some seconds, and at last achieved success. Some commotion was caused by Clarendon and Pembroke leaving the Court together in the middle of the trial, which was held to indicate the approach of the King. As a matter of fact, they had merely fled to a cooler atmosphere.

The hottest night I ever spent at the opera. Calvé as Carmen offers you a superb piece of acting; but the more I see of opera the more I am convinced of the impossibility of the task it sets itself. Music is one medium of expression, the drama another, and the attempt to combine the two only emphasises their fundamental points of conflict. They belong to different spheres of spiritual activity, and the attempt to give them one voice is as futile as the so-called reconciliation of science and religion, of art and morals. Incompatibility, however, is not necessarily opposition, and left to different roads they may reach the same end. Wagner made a colossal effort to give actuality to opera, but he only succeeded in carrying its unreality one step further.

July 21*st.*—At Cassiobury for Sunday. A place too much confined by trees, though many of them are of grand growth.

July 24th.—The Council to-day was remarkable for the presence of four men who have done signal work for the Empire: Lords Cromer, Pauncefote, Milner, and Cecil Rhodes. The last two, and particularly the last, have excited criticism as vehement as any eulogy, and it will be for history to decide their proper place in the evolution of the Imperial destiny of Great Britain; but looking at the two there can be no question which offers the higher type of genius and statesmanship. I had never spoken to Rhodes before, but in his appearance and address I was greatly disappointed. The alertness of Milner's personality was in strong and refreshing contrast. Lord Cromer's lately announced earldom, alongside his pupil's honours and achievements, brings into prominence the great school of statecraft with which the regeneration of Egypt has furnished the Empire. There has been nothing like it since the first fifty years of British supremacy in India, but Egyptian administration has been in certain respects under freer conditions and therefore yielded an earlier and perhaps riper harvest. All honour is due to the men who, from the ultimate ends of the Dark Continent, are working to spread light and civilisation to its centre, and giving fresh emphasis to Lord Salisbury's famous phrase that England has got her teeth into Africa.

Cholmondeley persists in the habit which I understand has already given umbrage to the King, and resolutely chewed his toothpick during the whole proceedings; indeed, I was afraid he might prick His Majesty's hand when trying to kiss it.

Knollys told me the King has surrendered to the pressure of the Colonial Office and India Office for representation on the Coronation Committee.

August 2nd.—Lady Hilda Brodrick's death has come as a great shock to society at large. She left London for Esher on Saturday afternoon never to return. A bright and inspiriting personality, she must have counted for much in the life of her sober and painstaking husband, and her removal from his side, just as his political ambitions are in process of realisation and his reputation rapidly maturing, enhances the bitterness of the blow. It is some years since I saw much of Lady Hilda, but she was always the same in the frankness and geniality of her address, and carried about her a wistful and elusive charm which time touched with a deeper emphasis.

August 3rd.—Just before dinner last night I heard from Walrond that the Lord President, at the instance of the Cabinet, had written to the King suggesting that provision should be made for holding Councils in his absence, and proposing that, in default of the Duke of Connaught or the Queen, any Privy Councillor might be authorised to act, Lord Salisbury being satisfied that there was no objection to such a course. I was struck with

amazement at the extravagance of the suggestion, and instantly sent to Marlborough House to recover the box, which I fortunately succeeded in doing. It never seems to have entered the heads of His Majesty's Ministers that such a proposal constituted a grave derogation from the royal dignity; but to invest a single one of His Majesty's subjects with the power of exercising the royal prerogative might, one would suppose, have staggered even such daring innovators as the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor. I wrote to the Duke at once, and saw him this morning on the subject. With his usual good sense and willingness to cover any action that involves the exercise of responsibility, he did not resent my intervention, and admitted that he had been entirely governed by Lord Salisbury's assurance that the proposition was an obvious and natural one. I pointed out to him that in 1895, when the Queen first empowered Councils to be held in her behalf by the Prince of Wales, it was considered the only alternative to the appointment of Lords Justices of the Kingdom, with full power to perform any of the Executive Acts of the Sovereign, and that it becomes a very different thing when the name of a subject was introduced into the Commission. The Duke saw all this very clearly, and agreed to let the matter stand over until he had further consulted Lord Salisbury, or the Chancellor, both of whom had left London.

I went down to Middleton in the afternoon with some misgiving that the state of the Empress Frederick's health would bring me back to London prematurely.

August 4th.—Our party consists of the family, including Lady Margaret Rice, the French Ambassador, Sir A. Lyall, Herbert Maxwell, and myself. M. Cambon, with true diplomatic reserve, declined to commit himself in the English tongue, but otherwise he is very pleasant and courteous. Lady Jersey had the temerity to argue on the Transvaal question with him: he shares all the current prejudices upon the circumstances that preceded the war and on that point no evidence could shake his conviction.

The house presents few remarkable features; the library is interesting, and there are many valuable miniatures and manuscripts (including the Commonplace Book of George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham). The day was a very pleasant one, and a real measure of relaxation. Lord Jersey's sterling qualities come out very strongly in his excellence as a host, and Lady Jersey's brightness and energy are quite equal to the entertainment of everyone.

August 5th.—The Empress's state appeared so alarming that I thought it necessary to return to London in case the King should hold a hurried Council on his way to Cronberg. Herbert Maxwell and I came up together. Enquiry at Marlborough House showed that the King only intended to leave England in time for the

funeral, from which I gathered that the condition of the illustrious patient was desperate; and before seven o'clock we heard that all was over. It is barely three years since I saw her at Balmoral, apparently in the best of health, and now she has followed her mother within seven months. I believe the King will feel it greatly, thus losing the sister to whom he was most attached. History will recognise the virtues and abilities of this, the most intellectual of the Queen's children. Her so-called mistakes were largely the figments of Bismarck's bitter prejudices: he hated her as antipathetic to the system of government which to his mind was necessary to prepare the way for German unity, and he visited upon her the disappointments which the British Foreign Office inflicted upon him.

The impounded letter has been unreservedly withdrawn. Lord Salisbury accepted the absence of all precedent as sufficient, though the Chancellor still believes it might have been done; but, as Muir-Mackenzie, whom I consulted, says, with the Chancellor all things are possible and by any method.

August 7th.—The King has taken decided objection to any delegation of authority during his absence abroad, and it is difficult to imagine what he might have said if the original proposal in its naked simplicity had reached him. The Duke pressed the point in a second letter, but as I heard from Knollys that His Majesty was very reluctant to concede it, I ventured to tell him that any emergency might be met by the King's undertaking to return if occasion arose for holding a Council, and with this engagement we got out of the difficulty.

August 8th.—At the Council to-day the King showed traces of the blow the Empress's death had been to him. His manner was both gentle and subdued, though his voice sounded true and clear. Notwithstanding the nature of the report which emanated from Cronberg, witnessing to the early fall of the curtain upon the tragic drama, the King appears to have thought the end might be indefinitely postponed. Not that anyone who had the sufferer's interest at heart could have wished it, but the ties that sixty years of fellowship have forged are not surrendered easily, and royal personages have an aloofness in their relations with death that ordinary mortals do not enjoy. However, it is all over now, and the tragedy of her life and suffering was strikingly summed up by Lord Salisbury in the contrast between the thirty years of preparation and the ten of retrospect, with (you may say) the substance of the realised dream dissolved by the calamity of her husband's death.

Lord Salisbury appears to have forgotten the genesis of the modern German Empire, as he referred to the prospect enjoyed by the Princess Royal of England, at the date of her marriage, of becoming the Consort of the Emperor of the greatest of the

European States. In 1858 neither Solferino nor Sadowa had been fought, still less Sedan. It is curious how the introspective mind ends with taking even the future for granted.

Duncombe Park. August 22nd.—I am here in the heart of summer, virtually with no others but the daughters of the house, Helen Vincent and Ulrica Duncombe. The first I had not seen since the shock of Lady Hilda Brodrick's [1] death within three days of the break-up of a house party, at the opening of which she was present in perfect health. Lady Hilda realised her fate very early and prepared for the issue with perfect coolness and courage, neglecting nothing that was necessary to be done and never losing serenity of soul to the moment when she lapsed into unconsciousness.

Walter Farquhar's sudden and most deeply to be lamented death, which I heard of to-day on my way back from York races, calls me to Melrose, and I must leave this place earlier than I had intended—who knows when to return!

Levens. September 1st.—The company at Melrose yesterday was a striking tribute to the love in which the dead was held. Some forty people, gathered at twenty-four hours' notice from all parts of England and Scotland, stood by a grave which all felt to be really hallowed by the object of so much affection, and surely never was one laid to rest who left so bright a record in the hearts of his friends.

I returned here with Mrs. Bagot after all was over, and in these old walls, girt with their cloistral garden of carven yews, I find a message of faithfulness to the past and tranquil hope.

September 26th.—The King held a Council this morning and appeared full of vitality and in the best possible spirits. Mr. Chamberlain, Lord George Hamilton, and St. John Brodrick attended: the King had a long interview with the last-mentioned before the Council and received the others afterwards. He questioned Chamberlain somewhat closely why he took the leading rôle, who explained that, as the business rendering the Council necessary emanated from the Colonial Office, it appeared fitting that he should do so; and I think I was right to make the arrangement, though of course George Hamilton was a long way senior as Privy Councillor. There seems some doubt whether the Colonial Secretary or the Secretary of War is the senior Secretary of State, as the functions of the two were at one time concentrated in the same individual. The Secretaryship of the Colonies is, however, the revival of an older office which was discontinued at the close of the American War of Independence. Sir C. Scott, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, attended to be sworn.

[1] Lady Hilda died suddenly at Esher Place while the guest of Sir Edgar and Lady Helen Vincent.

September 30th.—The Lord President reappeared at the office on his return from Italy. From what I hear, the dealings of the Board of Education with the embryo of the Education Bill that is to have an honoured place in the legislation of the ensuing Session, are still confused by a want of unity of purpose and co-operation in counsel. Mr. Balfour says, "Gorst sees no difficulties, and the Duke sees nothing else," which brings out epigrammatically the rashness of the one and the determination of the other to assent to nothing until he has faced and overcome every objection that may be raised. The worst of it is that, in dealing with the Duke, Gorst has recourse to a quite appalling recklessness of statement wherewith to enforce his own ill-digested views, and I took the opportunity of warning the Duke to discount very carefully the value of his assurances on many points. My position in the matter is of course quite irregular, but Gorst's private secretary, who sees him in his most unguarded moments, often appeals to me to minimise the mischief of his utterances by some timely hints to the Duke, and it is not often that I get an opportunity or can plead an excuse for doing so without appearing intrusive, while his private secretary, who should be the medium of such communications, has no desire but to let things go smoothly.

October 29th.—The Coronation Committee met to-day for the first time after the holidays. Distinct progress was made, but the decision to curtail the accommodation to be provided in Westminster Abbey from 10,000 to 6,000 will seriously augment the difficulty of recognising the many claims to admission we shall have to consider. The reduction was recommended on grounds of safety and spectacular effect, and I have no doubt it was on the whole wise; but the grumbles of the unprovided will be loud and deep.

November 2nd.—The public entry of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall upon their return was attended with every mark of popular enthusiasm; but a mistake was made in not separating the procession of the King and Queen from that of the Pilgrims of the Empire. Lord Roberts and the Head-quarters Staff did not take part in it, because it was supposed that the supersession of Sir R. Buller would cause a demonstration hostile to the Commander-in-Chief.

Within a few hours of a Council, Colonel Engleheart came from the War Office to tell us that an important order relative to the efficiency required of the Volunteers had been overlooked, and to pray that it might be put upon the list of business at the eleventh hour, or otherwise, as the Volunteer year began on November 1st, it could not be brought into operation for twelve months. Of course we met their wishes, but it affords a curious

[1] Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Morant.

illustration of the feebleness in vogue at Head-quarters that a matter affecting the existence of a military force of 250,000 men should have been so nearly forgotten.

November 4th.—At the Council to-day the King's appearance gave the most emphatic lie to the diligently circulated rumours about his health. He approved the Proclamation assuming the new title, the drafting of which had given me some anxious moments, and, by way of emphasising the full significance of his Imperial position, made a new departure by prefixing "R. and I." to the Proclamation proroguing Parliament.

November 5th.—The Cabinet took up the consideration of an Education Bill seriously. One of them told me they divided several times—a practice which large Cabinets have rendered unavoidable; and, though he was beaten in an attempt to limit the Bill to secondary education, he was satisfied that he had carried with him the votes of those who were most worth being counted, which at any rate rendered defeat palatable. On the other point of great importance, direct rate aid to voluntary schools was decisively rejected; which was so far fortunate, as, had the Cabinet adopted such a policy, Chamberlain would have made a row, which in a few months, if not immediately, would have led to his leaving the Government. Some weeks ago Powell Williams declared that such a proposal would break up the Unionist alliance, and Chamberlain is not prepared to run that risk, though his own views on the subject are not believed to be irreconcilably hostile. My own impression is that, except in Birmingham and its vicinity, no Liberal Unionist opposition would have been met with; but I understand the consideration that influenced the Cabinet was the dislike to add to urban or rural rates.

November 12th.—The nomination of Sheriffs on this, the morrow of St. Martin, was conducted with the old formalities. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his grim way, showed much more indulgence than was his wont, and in the present Lord Chief Justice[1] has a most sympathetic and lenient assessor.

I am fifty years old, and had a dinner at the Travellers' to celebrate the event, at which I succeeded in being the youngest of the party. Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, Bertie Mitford, Jack Slade,[2] Henry Yorke, and Spencer Chapman formed the party, and appeared to enjoy themselves. We drew on Bertie Mitford's Japanese reminiscences and got him to tell with great dramatic force the story of the "happy despatch" as witnessed by himself on behalf of the British Government in the case of a traitorous Japanese magnate, when all the accessories were observed with that regard for form and ritual that characterised old Japan. The story was also told of an English colonel, who is Consul at

[1] Lord Alverstone. [2] General Sir John Slade.

Odessa, giving an admirable reply to a Russian who had intended to put upon him a deliberate affront. "Mon colonel," he said at some public banquet, "je bois à la santé des braves Boers." "Mon général," was the prompt rejoinder, "je bois à la santé des braves de tous les gens."

November 13th.—The Privy Council met to alter the Prayer Book by the introduction of "the Prince and Princess of Wales" into the prayers for the Royal Family. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, which recalled the days of his predecessors as Ministers of State. The Home Secretary, Lord Robertson, and Spencer Ponsonby were also present. The usual form of the Order exhorting the Ministers of the Church of Scotland to pray for King Edward VII was objected to by the Archbishop on the ground of its possible offence to the Scots, to which neither Ritchie nor Robertson attached any importance; but, on the Archbishop pointing out that in the English Liturgy we only prayed for King Edward, it was agreed that it was unnecessary to alter the form in Scottish use in a way that was at all distasteful to Scotsmen. I told His Grace he had gone a long way towards reconciling the Scots to prelacy by taking such note of their susceptibilities.

Sir Houston Stewart died this morning after months of semi-unconsciousness and growing weakness. His career, both on active service and in various administrative posts, was a most distinguished one. I chiefly remember his kindness when, on the failure of my health in 1879, he procured me an invitation to spend five weeks on the "Agincourt" as a guest of Admiral Waddilove during the summer cruise of the Reserve Squadron to Gibraltar and Vigo.

November 14th.—St. John Brodrick's vindication of the conduct of the war is in most respects complete, though of course he explained away miscalculations as to its course. His reference to Sir R. Buller was brief and dignified. Enough has been said about that officer to justify the Government against any charge of hard dealing. No one who has followed the conduct of the Natal campaign with knowledge and without prejudice can arrive at any conclusion which absolves the commander from incoherence in his plans or clumsiness in giving effect to them. Moreover, his impatience under the sense of defeat or before public criticism has deprived his failure of much of the sympathy due to brave men in disaster. Lord Morley told me yesterday that the attempt to make a Devonian cabal against the author of his dismissal had ignominiously failed, not a man of distinction in the county having taken the least part in the agitation got up by a few mayors and other persons equally obscure.

November 19th–23rd.—At Elvetham for two days' shooting, during which we killed 1,050 pheasants on some very pretty ground.

December 4th.—The Court of Claims met and disposed of a large number of claims. The business of the Court was arranged with admirable judgment by my colleague Edward Hope,[1] whose help now and at the accession has been invaluable; and the Lord Chancellor, with very little coaching, evinced a quickness and patience in dealing with claimants that contributed greatly to the despatch of business. The Court consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Earl Marshal, Lords Macnaghten, James, Robertson, and Alverstone, the Lord Justice General of Scotland, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir Francis Jeune. The last failed to obey the Chancellor's edict and appear in Levée dress, and was sent home to clothe himself properly. We all had luncheon together in the Board-room, and the Court did not break up till 4 p.m.

I dined with the Institute of Chemistry and sat next Pember Reeves, the Agent-General of New Zealand. His account of the growth and organisation of that Colony was very interesting; the treatment of the Maori race, small in numbers as they are, deserves to be quoted to the eternal honour of the methods of British colonisation: the whole land of the country was deemed to be the property of the aboriginal population, and could only be alienated by sale, a process which after some time was arrested by law, lest the native should be divorced from the soil; the effect is that in many parts of New Zealand the Maoris represent the territorial aristocracy.

December 5th.—The Court of Claims met again to-day and disposed of the whole list by luncheon-time, with the exception of two or three cases that were adjourned to January 14th. A protracted struggle on the right to carry the Standard of Scotland was the chief object of interest. Lord Robert Cecil, who represented Lord Lauderdale, whose ancestor had acquired the privilege by an act of violence during the administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, damaged his case by the vehemence displayed, and was involved in a personal altercation with the Chancellor. On the other hand, Wedderburn, who represented the dispossessed holder, whose claims were lost in the mist of antiquity, conducted his argument with great confidence, composure, and dialectic skill. The decision was reserved.

December 6th.—I have at last got the King's consent to fixing the date of the Coronation at the Council on the 10th. He took a long time to convince himself that the Procession through the streets, which is supposed to revive the mediæval tradition of the journey from the Tower to Westminster the day before the Coronation, should precede the great event, and Knollys got mixed as to what the view of the Executive Committee had been. Fortunately, I was able to get hold of Esher, and we reminded

[1] Sir Edward Hope, Registrar of the Privy Council.

him of the opinion of the military and police authorities, which I subsequently got confirmed by Ward and Bradford, and in the result the Draft Proclamation was approved.

December 8th.—Sunday at Glynde, where I had not been for ten years, in the last few months of the old Speaker's life. Surely Chateaubriand was right in describing our reminiscences of the past as "ruins viewed by torchlight," and he might have added "peopled by ghosts."

December 10th.—Council at Marlborough House. The Duke of Buccleuch, Sir N. O'Conor, Sir H. Fletcher, and Sir A. Scoble were sworn. The Duke, whom I had looked upon to lead the others in the right path, went irretrievably astray. He apologised afterwards, and said that he was so dazzled by the light from the windows that he could not see what he was about. Fortunately, Sir N. O'Conor, with the readiness of a diplomatist, picked up the threads of the situation without hesitation and gave His Grace the right cue. The King told the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk that he knew nothing of the proceedings of the Executive Committee; which, as Knollys had been furnished with the minutes of each meeting for the express purpose of keeping His Majesty well informed, was a sufficiently amazing statement. It appeared afterwards in conversation with Knollys that all he meant was he had not read them.

December 11th.—Mr. Balfour told me yesterday that the deliberations on the Education Bill had reached a crisis, and I learn to-day its true proportions. The more closely the problem was looked at, the more impossible it became to work within the limits laid down by the Cabinet, and some revision of their instructions upon the limit of rate aid has become necessary. A policy of no concession on this point has been proclaimed by Mr. Chamberlain, who asserts that the Liberal Unionists of Birmingham, still largely the inheritance of the Birmingham League of 1870, will not stand it, and in this he is supported by Powell Williams and the district wire-pullers. The Duke of Devonshire had an interview with him last week, from which he withdrew discomfited, and wrote to Arthur Balfour in terms of the greatest despondency. He has personally no objection to rate aid, as he is logical enough to see that it does not differ in principle from any form of state aid, but is apparently shaken by Mr. Chamberlain's belief that it would break up the party. Chamberlain, perhaps by necessity rather than choice, is bound to see through Birmingham spectacles; but the Cabinet, after having failed to turn the flank of the enemy by sacrificing the Cowper-Temple clause—an expedient it is curious that Chamberlain did not see gives away the whole case against rate aid—must now face the direct issue. Its meeting has been postponed to Friday, when the Unionist alliance will be exposed to the strongest strain it has yet experienced. Mean-

while the Duke's mental and moral constitution suffers shock upon shock. Never having been attached to phrases without a meaning, he cannot measure the fascination they have for other people.

December 12th.—The Coronation Committee sat for an hour and a quarter, and decided the main features of the invitation lists. Plans of the Abbey were submitted by Esher, and the proposals met with acquiescence. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster will have to forgo any set space to which they can ask whom they please; but in this, as in other matters, the Committee showed every disposition to meet old claims so far as their satisfaction could be adjusted to present conditions. His Majesty signified his assent to the scheme of arrangement embodied in the digest furnished to Knollys, and that gives a fair *point d'appui* from which to proceed. The only point on which the Committee was obdurate was the suggested addition to it of Captain Butler to represent the Lord Great Chamberlain, and it remains to be seen whether Cholmondeley will give effect to his threat to take the matter to the King in person.

The Education crisis has advanced a step. Morant, nominally Gorst's private secretary, but in reality a person of much greater importance, as he not only corrects the errors but controls the ministerial relations of his Chief, has seen Chamberlain, whose views he found to be those of 1870. With great tact he sought to bring him gradually to see that ideas of educational policy had since then undergone as great a change as in the sphere of colonial activity, and step by step he appears to have brought home to him the conviction that the alternative line of action to which he desired to adhere was impracticable and indefensible. He is not, however, sanguine of having converted him to the view that the Cabinet Committee, after most exhaustive study of the question in all its bearings, have unanimously reached. There is no middle course between accepting rate aid, possibly under certain modified conditions, and breaking up the party. Mr. Chamberlain is not likely to claim the right to walk out of the House without voting, as he would not be followed by four members, and he knows it. The Lord President has written an admirable Memorandum, which should go far to providing Chamberlain a way of retreat. The Duke's talent for probing to the bottom the objections to any given course has the advantage of enabling him to write State Papers of convincing power, when he is satisfied that every objection can be fairly met; and in this instance he has outdone himself in concise and pregnant reasoning.

December 14th.—The Cabinet has funked. By a majority of ten to eight, though Cabinets are not supposed to divide, they have decided—it remains to be seen for how long—to confine the

Bill to secondary education and run the certain risk of disappointing the bulk of their own followers. For the second time on an educational question of the first magnitude Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain have been on one side and Mr. Balfour and the Duke of Devonshire on the other. Besides these two latter, the whole of the rest of the Committee (i.e. Hanbury, Walter Long, and Selborne) voted in the minority, except James, who, after expressing himself as quite converted to the views of his colleagues, found his courage fail, and cast in his lot with the timid and ill-informed. A crisis in the Cabinet may have been averted, but a crisis in the party is rendered imminent, though with a view to being ready for emergencies, a second Bill dealing with Elementary Education is to be prepared, but not mentioned in the King's Speech. It is the fear of the unknown that has paralysed the majority, but it seems to reduce the system of Cabinet Committees to a farce, if the unanimous resolution of the men who have been charged with the special investigation of a particular subject is to be set aside, and its handling determined by their less well-informed colleagues. Meanwhile all the Cabinet is to meet on Thursday, when possibly other advice will prevail.

December 15th.—Yesterday morning I heard from Knollys that His Majesty was anxious he should see me as soon as possible. On reaching Marlborough House I found that the King's scruples about making a progress through London before he was crowned had returned with redoubled force. I reminded Knollys that the relative advantages of either alternative had been very carefully gone into, that the procession was in some sense a revival of the passage mediæval Kings were wont to make from the Tower to Westminster on the eve of the Coronation, and that the acclamations of the people, though not offered to a crowned monarch, would be thoroughly in their place as a solemn act of popular recognition preceding the immemorial rite. I also invoked the strongly expressed opinion of the military and police authorities in favour of such an arrangement; but to no purpose, as he was clearly charged to get the order changed at any cost. He saw, however, that a new Proclamation antedating the Coronation would lay us open to the charge of not knowing our own minds, and, indeed, display us in rather a ridiculous light, so I suggested that if the King's mind was made up on this point, he had better defer the progress through London till Friday, unless by making the Wednesday a blank, it would create an inconvenient hiatus in the arrangements for the week. This he thought did not matter, and believed that Ward and Bradford would readily accommodate themselves to the change; so I left him with the understanding that he would put the proposal before the King, who he did not think would have any superstitious fears upon the use of Friday for the second act of the Coronation drama.

This morning I hear the King has been pleased to approve the suggestion, but what the Committee may say on the subject remains to be seen. However, it is a great point gained that the day fixed by the Proclamation is to be adhered to, and I was further glad to learn that the King had authorised Knollys to give a final snub to Cholmondeley's persistent efforts to foist his henchman, Captain Butler, on the Committee. I have fought this throughout, as the decision of the Committee of Council in 1831 lays down once for all that the Earl Marshal is alone concerned with the preparations in the Abbey, and to admit at this stage the belated pretensions of the Lord Great Chamberlain to put his oar in would be to surrender a valuable precedent and introduce an element of confusion into the work of a homogeneous and representative body. A Committee of eighteen is surely large enough for any useful purpose. In discussing the subject with the Lord President, I ventured to remind him that it was now almost as large as the Cabinet, and I think that this illustration of inconvenience attending the deliberations of a large body impressed him more than any argument could have done.

December 16*th*.—Later information shows that in the crucial division of the Cabinet on Friday Selborne went with James: thus the Duke and Arthur Balfour were supported by Hanbury, Long, Gerald Balfour, Lords Londonderry and Lansdowne. It is a pity Lord Cadogan had not been there, as his influence would have been thrown into the same scale. However, there are hopes that next Thursday may see saner counsels prevail, and I impressed very strongly upon my informant, who sees Mr. Balfour constantly, that the latter should refuse to undertake the charge of a Bill that does not contain the securities he thinks necessary for a satisfactory treatment of the question.

December 19*th*.—Though there appears to be some difference of opinion as to the final decisions of to-day's Cabinet, one good result was obtained, as the door is still left open for the adoption of the bolder and more enlightened policy. Arthur Balfour is alive to the danger of both; indeed, he goes so far as to say either may threaten the existence of the Government; but he will, at any rate, not be personally responsible for any Bill that deals with the problem on narrow and half-hearted lines; and if his colleagues are disposed to prefer the parliamentary conduct of Sir J. Gorst, they will know what to expect.

1902

January 1*st*.—The death of a well-known person recalls a singular adventure I had nearly five years ago. In July 1897 I received a letter from a lady stating that she had been informed that I was the right person for her to see, and asking me to call

at 6 p.m. I went accordingly, and was taken up in a lift to the top of a large house in Mayfair and ushered into a small sitting-room. After some delay, a slight, dark woman entered the room in a state of marked excitement. She regretted that she could not receive me with the courtesy due to "the representative of the Duke of Devonshire" (I was then his private secretary), and went on to denounce him and the Duchess for their indifference to her political and social ambitions. She assured me that she had only to approach Lord Salisbury to obtain for her husband any honorific distinction he coveted; but he had been a Liberal Unionist for twelve years, and would only accept a baronetcy through the medium of the Duke of Devonshire's recommendation. Disappointment, she added, was killing him, and the Duchess's slights to her socially aggravated the misfortune. All this was told me with a wealth of illustration and invective which spoke volumes for the vehemence of the lady's rancour, and I had some difficulty in checking the flood of her eloquence. Of course I assured her that there could be nothing intentional in the oversight of which she complained, and enlarged upon the difficulties of a hostess who entertained on the scale of the Duchess of Devonshire in satisfying all the claims upon her, and explained that the Duke, in making his recommendations to the Prime Minister, was naturally guided to a large extent by the representations of the party organisation. Nothing, however, could have satisfied a woman in the condition of nervous resentment in which I found her, and my object was to bring a very disagreeable discussion to a close. At last she consented to my leaving the room. On our way downstairs she paused on the landing of the second floor and said: "You shall see my husband before you go, and then you will understand the state to which he has been reduced by the Duke of Devonshire's neglect." I protested that it would be cruel to disturb a sick man's repose in order to give me such an object lesson; but, flinging open the nearest door, she introduced me into a large room, where a man was lying apparently in the last stage of some wasting disease. On the unexpected entrance of a total stranger he raised himself with a supreme effort, and, obeying an instinct of courtesy, extended his hand, which his wife dashed aside with the exclamation, "No, you shall not shake hands with him!" and then, turning to me with a tragic gesture that was intended to emphasise the ruin wrought, she stood silent and menacing. I could only bow and withdraw with as much composure as the exaggeration of the lady's attitude permitted me to preserve. Poor man, he never obtained his honours, and has waited four years and a half for deliverance from the spur of his wife's unsated ambitions.

January 8th.—A Council previous to the approval of the King's Speech will assemble at 6 p.m. on Monday, by which time

it is hoped the Cabinet may have concluded its deliberations. The usual testimony to our friendliness with foreign nations will be difficult to reconcile with the inflamed condition of our relations with Germany. Bulow's observations, though perhaps all that diplomacy could demand in the way of official correctitude, do not go further than a perfunctory rebuke of German violence, and imply comparisons that were intended to be distasteful to English feeling. Corresponding violence has possessed some of the leading newspapers in this country, and, if journalistic polemics could be taken seriously, we might regard ourselves on the eve of war.

January 14*th.*—The Court of Claims reassembled with all its members except the Lord President and the Master of the Rolls. The Archbishop of York appeared and informed the Court that, with the Archbishop of Canterbury's concurrence, the King had consented to his crowning the Queen, and that he had no occasion to press his pretensions. He has so far gained his object, but has given away the case of the Archbishops of York by accepting the consent of the See of Canterbury ; not that he had any choice, as there is nothing in the records, beyond the vague impression that prevails with many writers on the subject, to justify his claim. The right to bear the Standard of Scotland was very properly affirmed to reside in the Scrymgeour Wedderburns, a result largely due to the tact, temper, and discretion with which their case was presented.

January 15*th.*—The "Battle of the Spurs" occupied the attention of the Court for nearly the whole day, with an inconclusive result, as the Lord Chancellor could not bring himself to believe that the material existed for a fair judgment. This is a virtual victory for the Hastings claimant, as in his absence the decisions of five hundred years would have been confirmed in the person of the Grey de Ruthyn claimant.

I obtained the consent of the Lord President and the Earl Marshal to a letter I had drafted to Knollys begging for an authoritative expression of the King's intention not to issue any warrants to the Lord Great Chamberlain in regard to the preparations in the Abbey. Cholmondeley has been ill-advised enough to present a Memorial with this object, trusting to some bad precedent, which he has thus given us an opportunity to repudiate once for all. I attribute the whole difficulty to the accommodating spirit which has led people in the past to be obliging rather than correct, and perhaps also to their ignorance ; but I am determined that on this occasion a perfectly clean sheet of precedent shall be handed down to our successors, and in this we are aided by the mass of material available for a judgment and the time at our disposal for collating and applying it.

London awoke after a sleep of two years. The party at Devon-

shire House was very largely attended, and Ministers appeared in excellent spirits. Lord Rosebery was present, and one of his supporters in the House of Commons took pleasure in describing to me the confusion which by that hour prevailed in the dining-rooms of his official rivals. "Labby" attached himself to the Duchess, who at first appeared to resent his importunity, but later was fascinated by it and allowed him to talk to her at a length which amused some and scandalised others.

January 16th.—The King and Queen were very cordially received on their way to Westminster. The debate on the address in the House of Lords led to no surprise. Lord Lytton made a decided mark in seconding the motion by a speech of really fine literary form, set out with much force of delivery and the charm of a well-modulated voice. Poor Lord Spencer stumbled through his task, and made his one point against himself when he said with emphasis, "We do not indeed say that we should sue for peace!" and, after being vigorously pummelled by Lord Salisbury, had the satisfaction of having his toes trodden on by Lord Rosebery.

January 20th.—The preparation of the Education Bill marches. Harry Anstruther, on behalf of the Whips, strongly advocates a comprehensive measure, and tells us that it would be hazardous to ignore the feeling of the great bulk of the party in favour of rate aid to voluntary schools, for the sake of removing the scruples of a few Radical Unionists in the Midlands; and I have taken care that this information reaches the Lord President. Meanwhile Gorst is kept in ignorance that he is not to have charge of the Bill.

The Coronation Committee met in the afternoon, when the date and route of the procession were formally altered, in order to meet the King's wishes. We also disposed of the Cinque Ports' desire to carry a canopy within the walls of the Abbey. Schomberg McDonnell had been sorely tried by the persistence of their demands and the hectoring tone they had assumed. To their observation that the Committee wanted educating, he had replied with dignity that he was not in the habit of receiving letters couched in such intemperate language. By no conceivable means could a canopy have failed to obstruct the view of hundreds; it is a cumbrous and expensive piece of furniture, and would have raised the question of perquisite in a most inconvenient form.

John Thynne asked the Duke of Norfolk to see that the man who carried the censer swung it properly; to which the Duke replied that he had done it for ten years at the Oratory, and thought he could teach him.

January 22nd.—Digby, Ward, Fawkes,[1] and I met the Duke at Norfolk House in order to settle the claims of the Services to seats

[1] Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Edward Ward, and Admiral Sir Wilmot Fawkes.

for the Coronation. We went thoroughly into those of the Civil Service, and, by dint of careful scrutiny, reduced them to about sixty with thirty wives. There is sure to be a good deal of heart-burning in the result, but the dividing line has been drawn on a basis that is easily defensible, and constitutes a fair compromise between rigour and generosity. The discussion was very amicable and the Earl Marshal proved, as always, an excellent chairman.

January 25th.—The revolt of the Peeresses against wearing no diamonds has ended in tiaras being conceded, which, with coronets, will produce as dubious an effect as a man's attempt to wear two hats, besides making it improbable that many will be able to place their coronets on their heads. However, the general sentiment of the sex being in favour of diamonds regardless of tradition and purpose, the dignified uniformity of immemorial practice has been sacrificed to a heedless passion for indiscriminate ornament.

February 2nd.—Two questions of great importance must shortly occupy the attention of the Privy Council: the establishment of an Academy of Letters and university organisation in the north of England. A petition in regard to the former has already been lodged with the signatures of some fifty persons, with few exceptions eminent in their respective branches of investigation. The need for it has arisen owing to the one-sided organisation of scientific studies that obtains in this country. The Royal Society, though enjoying wider powers under the terms of their Charter, are contented with a primacy in the various departments of natural science, and decline responsibility for the organisation of the more literary and humane branches of research. England is thus at a disadvantage in contrast with European thought at the scientific congresses which are now held periodically, and further suffers from the waste of power involved in the want of mutual intercommunication and correspondence, such as the grouping of the various scientific societies round the Royal Society promotes in the realm of natural science. The object and the means by which it is sought to give effect to it are excellent, but there are points of detail that will require careful consideration.

February 5th.—On hearing of a death by suicide, the Lord President grimly remarked, "Had —— anything to do with the Education Bill?" And from all accounts he had reason. At the last Cabinet the fortunes of the measure underwent a change, as the Duke, after several days of devoted application, surprised his colleagues by displaying a complete mastery over the issues involved and unfolded his views in a speech of great cogency, not allowing himself to be disturbed by the interruption of Mr. Chamberlain. So strong was the line he took, and so unexpected the resolution he displayed, that the Prime Minister saw fit to

bring the discussion to a close without any formal expression of opinion, which might have forced the Duke into an attitude from which resignation would have been the only exit. The logic of his position, however, has sensibly affected the views of his colleagues, and, much as they may shrink from some of the consequences, they begin to see that there is no alternative that is not exposed to more damaging parliamentary criticism and does not threaten more imminent party disaster. In the meantime the indefatigable Morant flies from one Cabinet Minister to another and receives the frankest confessions from them all, the background being a settled feeling of anxiety and disquiet that they have brought such a hornets' nest about their heads.

February 8th.—The debate on the new rules gave "Tommy Bowles" another opportunity for dissipating the clouds of distrust that hung over the ministerial proposals. His superlative assumption and tastcless methods of attack can always be relied on to neutralise discontent behind Ministers, and to bring all their supporters into the right lobby. The Whips have grown thus to regard him as their most potent ally, and, to use a chemical metaphor, he is the precipitant that arrests the dispersion of the majority.

Yesterday's Cabinet brought the Education controversy nearer an issue, in as far as thc efforts of Chamberlain, and subsequently of Ritchie, to devise alternative schemes have failed, and it looks now as if even the first will agree to the introduction of compulsory rate aid under some adoptive form, which may reduce the area of attack. The appointment of Ilbert to the Clerkship of the House of Commons is the resultant of various counter forces. His quickness of resource will stand him in good stead and his political sensitiveness will suffer less violence than in the task of drafting Conservative Bills.

February 11th.—The King's first levée to-day was the largest I have ever seen. As the new regulations effected a considerable economy in time, notwithstanding an exceptionally heavy *entrée*, all was over in one hour and a quarter, though that space of time makes a heavy inroad upon the mornings of Ministers. It seems absurd that they should be detained pinned to the wall in one long file of disconsolate *ennui*, while others at any rate can get away as soon as they have passed the King.

Sir Norman Lockyer called with the draft petition in opposition to the cstablishment of a British Academy apart from the Royal Society. The signatures appear to have been collected on no particular principle.

February 12th.—The Coronation Committee of the Privy Council met in the Lord President's room; the Duke of Norfolk, Portland, Pembroke, Lord James, and Akers-Douglas attended and agreed to the issue of the necessary orders for taking over

Westminster Abbey and commencing preparations on or after April 1st. The petition of the Lord Great Chamberlain to have a warrant for his direction of these preparations was considered. I explained the circumstances in which the claim was preferred and the grounds of its invalidity. These had been laid before the King, who had authorised me to tell the Committee that on their recommendation he was prepared to reject the petition. This recommendation they had little difficulty in giving, when they had before them the evidence accumulated in Sandford's account of the coronation of James II, and Naylor's still fuller description of that of George IV, supported as it was by various reports of the Privy Council. The fact is that though the question of right has never been determined by any tribunal, competent authority has never wavered in affirming that the preparations in Westminster Abbey have invariably been under the sole direction of the Earl Marshal. Pembroke raised the important point of the suspension of public business on June 26th and 27th, and it was agreed that I should consult the Lord Mayor and Governor of the Bank of England on the extent to which such a suspension should be carried on the 27th.

February 13th.—I saw the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to the suspension of business at the time of the Coronation, who agreed that the sooner a proclamation on the subject was issued the better, and approved generally the course proposed by the Committee.

The apotheosis[1] of Mr. Chamberlain drew everyone to the City. His speech was worthy of the occasion, and it was followed by Arthur Balfour in a tone of most generous appreciation. A fitting epilogue to an act of Imperial significance was provided in either House of Parliament by the discussion of the Treaty with Japan. The cheers with which Lord Lansdowne's entrance into the House of Lords was received form fitting expression to the confidence with which Englishmen in general have hailed this new departure.

February 17th.—I heard from Esher that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster were much "pained" by the Order of Council giving possession of the Abbey to the Earl Marshal from the commencement of the works, which they appear to have regarded as a motion of ejectment affecting their legal status as the properly constituted guardians of the fabric. Not content with airing their grievance to the Office of Works, with whom they had already occasion of difference in consequence of the intention that had been announced not to reserve to them any right of placing their friends where they liked, they had carried their complaint to the King, who desired Esher to obtain from me a reply. There was no difficulty in giving a sufficient one, as, though on previous

[1] Presentation of Address and Luncheon at Guildhall.

occasions the Earl Marshal had not been formally placed in possession until the works were completed, he had been authorised to exercise powers that amounted to a *de facto* occupation, and the case for a more complete control rested upon the fact that, whereas heretofore only a portion of the Abbey was appropriated for the purposes of State, it is now intended to utilise the whole, so that the claim of the Dean and Chapter to any kind of user breaks down. The Order was very carefully drawn, so as to qualify properly the nature of the possession vested in the Earl Marshal, and there is no warrant for the assumption that the legal rights of the Chapter are threatened. Their sensitiveness on such a point and their inability to appreciate the force of precise language illustrate two prevailing weaknesses of ecclesiastical persons and corporations.

February 18*th.*—The first day of the "Great Chamberlain" case did not excite much attention beyond the circle of those immediately interested. Haldane, who opened for Ancaster, began his argument with great skill, and with all that deferential suavity that goes to the heart of judges, but later he seemed rather confused in dealing with the mass of material at his disposal, so that the impression was inconclusive. He had only half finished when the Court rose. Carrington, by pressing the coparcenary feature in the case a point further, has done no good to Cholmondeley, with whose cause he has identified himself, and I think the latter is aware of it, though, from a few minutes' conversation I had with him, his appreciation of the issues was blurred and indistinct. The Lord Chancellor showed his usual quickness in detecting the slightest attempt on the part of Counsel to draw a red herring across the scent. Lady Ancaster and Lady Blythswood were the only occupants of the gallery, and even Haldane's eloquence could not keep Mrs. Horner long among the audience.

February 20*th.*—Lord Rosebery's "definite separation" from Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman is the theme of general speculation, but there is very little agreement upon its immediate objects and ultimate results. Whatever may be the strength of Lord Rosebery in the constituencies, his parliamentary following is small, so that no decisive action in the House of Commons is possible. It is more probable that a conviction of coming changes has had its influence. Lord Salisbury's retirement is believed to be imminent. Some people credit Mr. Balfour with growing weariness for the House of Commons. Sir Michael Hicks Beach and the Duke of Devonshire have their hopes fixed on an early emancipation from the cares of office, and Lord Rosebery may regard union with Mr. Chamberlain and nine-tenths of the Unionist Party as the most reasonable solution of his difficulties and the most practicable avenue to power. I give these speculations for

what they are worth; the data for several of the assumptions that underlie them are not matters of certainty, but there is an air of plausibility about the idea that approves itself to many. A great change has no doubt come about in the attitude of the great bulk of the Conservative members towards Mr. Chamberlain, and shrewd observers, who four years ago would have scouted the idea, consider that his leadership would not only be accepted, but hailed with enthusiasm. Such a combination would no doubt command an immense preponderance in Parliament and the country at this moment; Lord Rosebery could only look for support in the House of Commons by associating himself with some recognised leader of Unionist opinion, and Mr. Chamberlain's weight and distinction indicate him as the person with whom the experiment might be worth trying. Mr. Chamberlain, however, would be master of the situation, and it may be that his conviction of his own strength might not recommend the union. A great deal must depend upon the King's action, if Lord Salisbury retires. Mr. Balfour is naturally suggested for the succession, and I take leave to doubt whether he would refuse the offer; however, magnanimity and self-abnegation are among his strong points, and it might be that he would forgo his claims to those of Mr. Chamberlain; in that case his translation to the House of Lords would be almost inevitable, and consequently the need for Mr. Chamberlain to ally himself with Lord Rosebery less apparent. On the whole, one is most inclined to treat Lord Rosebery's latest move as an end rather than a means, and to believe that the sensation it has caused will have secured its object.

February 24th.—I saw Esher about the grievance of the Dean and Chapter. He produced a piece of paper on which Canon Robinson had indicated the kind of explanation that would save their face. As the request for another Order in substitution of that complained of was implicitly withdrawn, and the King wished some solatium in point of form to be given them, I had no difficulty in undertaking, on behalf of the Committee, that they would authorise the requisite letter. Esher agreed that they were making a fuss about nothing, and said that Canon Robinson had virtually admitted their solicitude to be due to uneasiness as to their position: the inherent vice of the Anglican clergy's status clings to them at every turn. I subsequently saw Hobart and was amused to learn that the Duke of Norfolk, being pressed by Canon Gore to sympathise with the position of the Chapter, had bluntly replied that his sympathies were all with the Benedictine monks they had dispossessed—an effective form of retort.

February 26th.—I had a conference with the Earl Marshal this morning as to the answer that should be made to the Dean and Chapter's claim to reserve forty places in the Muniment-

room. I pointed out that, however they might regard it, he was under no necessity to treat the concession as the recognition of a right, and deprecated the King's being invoked to determine any such issue, which I understood was just what he wanted to avoid. The *via media* in all these controversies was to establish a customary practice and leave questions of right to take care of themselves. The Duke was very reasonable, and quite appreciated the feelings of the Chapter in making such a claim, and I left him in no doubt that a compromise would be reached on mutually satisfactory terms.

February 27th.—I met Sir James Bruce last night, who has just returned from China. His experience as Rear-Admiral on the Station during the trouble was remarkable, and he is most outspoken in the narration of it. He scouts the idea that the legations were ever in danger, and adduces a good deal of evidence in support of that view. At any rate, the purchase of provisions was never interdicted, and not half the available ammunition was used by the Marines during the defence. Diplomatic blindness and incompetence before the outbreak was only equalled by the nervelessness and irresolution of the military authorities after it occurred. Bruce is indignant with the want of judgment that has prompted first the Germans, and then ourselves, to plant settlements in Shantung, which, being the province of Confucius, is sacred soil to every Chinaman. He thinks it inevitable that the Germans will be bundled out when China has time to collect herself, and meanwhile rejoices that the Government is retaining its hold on Wei-hai-wei. Like everyone else, Sir James testifies to the extraordinary military efficiency of the Japanese, and the self-restraint exhibited by the soldiery; whereas the outrages of the Russians, particularly upon the female population, beggared description; nor were the Germans above reproach in this particular.

February 28th.—I had another talk with Haldane on the Northern University question. He is very keen for a hearing before the Privy Council, and will take his coat off for the occasion, notwithstanding the amount of work with which he is occupied in other directions. He resumes the Great Chamberlain argument on Monday, and will probably give two more days to it. He has a hand in the organisation of what he calls the Rosebery party, and in the background the preparation of the Gifford Lecture on the Idea of God. That, at any rate, he should welcome as a refreshing change from the actuality of his other interests, and I can really fancy the pursuit of such an idea, with its remotest origins and results, having profound attractions for his synthetically constituted mind.

Luncheon with the Freeman-Thomases, where the Rosebery party was in evidence again. Whatever confidence the new con-

nection may enjoy outside, it starts with at least the air of self-confidence, though, as for the moment they have nothing to do but give currency to captivating generalities, they are not exposed to much proof. Their game is clearly, without severing themselves from the formal organisation of the Liberal Party, to cultivate an attitude of detachment, until the changes that they anticipate in the Unionist Party have undergone further development.

March 1st.—The King has determined that the Duke of Fife is to act as Lord High Constable of England at the Coronation. The person submitted by the Earl Marshal was the Duke of Connaught, an unexceptionable selection, if a choice between the claims of Lord Roberts and Lord Wolseley presented insurmountable difficulties. The Duke of Fife is not an Englishman, nor a soldier. Further, his first cousin, Erroll, is High Constable of Scotland, so that the two offices are practically absorbed by one connection.

March 4th.—The Duke of Norfolk called to say the Executive Committee should be convened to determine the composition of the procession on the day of the Coronation, and for the Royal progress on the following day. As to the first, the King wishes the programme of 1838 to be adhered to in its main outlines, but the arrangements of the second day will have to be evolved *de novo* by the Committee out of the raw material supplied by the departments representing Army, Navy, Indian, and Colonial interests : a task of no small difficulty.

A Cabinet Committee on the treatment of London in the Education Bill met in the Lord President's Room. From my chair I had a full view of Mr. Ritchie, who displayed extraordinary energy in enforcing his opinions ; the play of his facial muscles was quicker than anything I had ever before observed, and his use of a quill pen, as an instrument of oratory, was conspicuous. I understand he had some pet object of his own, urged with a complacency which even Chamberlain's pallid countenance opposite could not disconcert when lit up with its most sardonic smile.

A story is told that some days ago the Secretary of State for War wrote a minute to the Prime Minister in which he used the hackneyed quotation, " Quos Deus vult perdere," etc. It returned to him inscribed : " I thought the W.O. had long since reached the *dementat.*—S."

March 6th.—The annual Sheriffs' Dinner took place last night at Devonshire House ; eight members of the Cabinet, including Lord Salisbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Balfour, Lord James, Ritchie, and St. John Brodrick, and Portland, Pembroke, and Clarendon were of the party. Lord Salisbury was in capital form, and wide awake to a degree that would have astonished Mr. Gould. His mordant humour played over every

topic, and he excited the Duke to unwonted hilarity. I sat between Lords Lansdowne and Balfour. As we walked away the latter told me an interesting Cabinet story. It was being discussed who should represent the War Office in the House of Lords, when Raglan wanted support; quoth the Prime Minister, "Let the Lord Chancellor do it; he is used to getting off criminals." I had a long talk with Portland after dinner about the Coronation processions in organising which his department must take a prominent share. He promised me that Ewart[1] should be ready with his plans by the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

March 7th.—A Counell this morning at 11.30, the levée being at 12. His Majesty was a bit hurried, as the business was heavy, including the pricking of sheriffs. Sir A. Wilson, who was sworn, entirely forgot all his instructions and had to be prompted at every stage. The King said to me, "You should see that he understands what to do." "I did, Your Majesty, but he has entirely lost his head," was my reply, at which the King laughed good-naturedly. He left Marlborough House for the levée punctually at 11.50. It was very impressive to see the escort give him a general salute as he entered his carriage and drove off, every inch a King.

In writing to Knollys afterwards I explained the difficulty I had in dealing with elderly gentlemen whose self-command vanished at the presence of the King, and had a satisfactory message from His Majesty.

March 10th.—I spent Sunday at Brighton, and enjoyed two days' sunshine. The place appeared very full, but the company presented no great features of interest.

The prospects of the Education Bill are not bright. Chamberlain, taking advantage of the lukewarmness of some members of the Cabinet and the ignorance of others, is striving all he can to wreck it. The day of Ritchie's posturing above described was spent in abortive discussion on the subject of London, which calls for special treatment. Chamberlain expounded his views with great vigour, whereupon the Lord President called Morant in, asked Chamberlain to repeat his argument, and requested the other to offer his comment. This he did with such success that Chamberlain admitted the case against him unanswerable, and the meeting broke up in some heat, the Duke only just preventing a resolution hostile to anything touching elementary education being adopted. It looks as if Chamberlain foresaw the possibility of the Government's not surviving the attempt or the failure to deal with the subject, and realises that the moment to join hands with Lord Rosebery may be precipitated.

At any rate, it is significant of Chamberlain's attitude to the Duke of Devonshire's educational policy that he should have

[1] Major-General Sir Henry Ewart, Crown Equerry.

said to another of his colleagues, "We could easily engineer a demonstration of the County Councils against being asked to take over Elementary Education!"

March 12th.—Bertie Mitford's boy is among the wounded in Lord Methuen's fatal action, to his father's great perturbation and concern. The disaster is obviously due to the unmilitary character of some of the last recruited Yeomanry, the gentlemen whose appearance caused so much misgiving some months ago. We had a few people to dinner before the parties at Lady Hayter's and Londonderry House. The latter was interesting, representative, and even brilliant. Lady Helen Stavordale again did the honours with conspicuous grace and dignity.

March 15th.—The die is cast and the Education Bill is to be introduced on Monday the 24th. Both the Duke and Arthur Balfour think the question will wreck the Government, and there are some who perhaps intend that it shall. The form in which it is introduced cannot be final, and the crisis must arise over the adoptive clauses if they are reached. Mr. Balfour got the Cabinet to agree that, if the second reading was taken, they would sit to any period in order to pass the Bill, which he is to take charge of himself, a timely attack of influenza having withdrawn Gorst into obscurity. The real difficulty in dealing with the Cabinet is the large mass of ill-informed and fluctuating opinion that is encountered on almost every subject of importance: on the Education Question no one is entitled to speak as an expert, and the difficulty is aggravated by the indifference of some and the covert hostility of others.

March 18th.—I have been in vain struggling to obtain some decision from Ministers on the suspension of business for the 26th and 27th of June. There is no satisfactory way of providing for this except by two bank holidays; but here the bankers, championed in the Cabinet by Ritchie, interfere and say the strain upon them on the Saturday would be overwhelming. The matter is now with the Lord Chancellor, but what with the Committee of Privileges and other business, it is almost impossible to bring him to the scratch.

March 19th.—The Coronation Committee sat for two hours and settled the outlines of the procession on both days. Having ascertained that the champion could ride, I got the Committee to recommend that he should figure in the procession on both days, and the Duke of Norfolk undertook to propose to the King that he should carry the Standard.

March 21st.—The Lord Chancellor has decided in favour of the two bank holidays, and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's wish I saw the Deputy Governor of the Bank of England and one of his colleagues, and explained to him the reasons why it had been found impossible to meet their wishes. They were both

very civil and disposed to acquiesce: indeed, one of them, who represented a large accepting house, admitted that it would not really make much difference, and yet this is the point upon which the solution of the question has been arrested for nearly a week, owing to the tendency in some quarters to listen to gossip.

After three hours' deliberation in the Cabinet, the Education Bill details are still undetermined. Arthur Balfour appears to have limited discussion to certain practical issues, but these are still far from settlement, and will probably have to be decided by the Draftsman.

April 9th.—Returned to London after an absence of a little more than a fortnight, spent principally with Spencer Chapman at Cannes. His villa has a beautiful situation just above the Bocca station, overlooking the bay of Napoule and the Esterel. "La chaîne des monts," in the words of Maupassant, "correctement et nettement dessinée se découpe au matin sur le ciel bleu, d'un bleu tendre et pur; d'un bleu propre et joli, d'un bleu idéal de plage méridionale. Mais le soir, les flancs boisés des côtes s'assombrissent et plaquent une tache noire sur un ciel de feu, sur un ciel vraisemblablement dramatique et rouge." The ten days we spent there presented as many tableaux of the kind here depicted, and never was there the least interruption in the brilliance of the southern sunshine.

S. C. met me at St. Raphael and took me across the mountains in his motor, and I was thus afforded a series of magnificent panoramic pictures on my approach to the place, which I had not seen for seven-and-twenty years.

I was glad to find there Lady Winchilsea, the widow of my old friend, Murray Finch-Hatton, and herself a playfellow of forty years past, who, with her charming daughter, Lady Muriel Paget, was at the Hôtel du Prince de Galles, where we dined with her. Two or three afternoons spent at Garibondi, Lady Alfred Paget's château, were very pleasant. On the last occasion we met the old Duke of Cambridge at breakfast; he is very indefatigable in the pursuit of such pleasures as remain to eighty-three years, and went a little stronger on his legs. He was very outspoken, as ever, and regretted the indifference to old-time usages, which seemed to him the mark of the royal régime in England. We spent two nights in Paris on the way back, where we met Lord Hampden and his two girls, and dined with them at the Champs Élysées Hôtel, one of the newest conceptions of Sir B. Maple!

April 10th.—The reception of the Education Bill has quite equalled expectation. The teachers have declared for it, which, from an electioneering point of view, is a decided score; and it is clear the Opposition is to be conducted on the time-worn platform of Nonconformist fanaticism, for which the Government

could ask nothing better. Haldane, and one or two sagacious spirits on the same side, see the absurdity of it; but the opportunity of presenting the whole party in an unbroken line is too good to be resisted.

April 15*th.*—The Executive Committee met to approve the Office of Divine Service, and the Form of Ceremonial to be observed at the Coronation. The changes in the former tend materially to its abbreviation, but the Bishop of Winchester's estimate that it will only take two hours is far too sanguine. He admits that the infirmities of the Archbishop, which came prominently into evidence at Lord Kimberley's memorial service, when he nearly fell down the steps of the chancel, are an incalculable factor, but hopes to be able to afford him such guidance as will see him through without any obvious breakdown. The old man himself is full of courage, and thinks all he has to do is to get the crown "on the mon's head."

April 22*nd.*—A meeting of the Privy Council took place to-day for the formal resolution preparatory to presenting the Service and Ceremonial for the approval of the King and Council. The Lord Great Chamberlain was summoned, and seemed pleased at having a look in, particularly at the moment when the authority with which he has been temporarily clothed is threatened with extinction. The Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and the Lord Steward were also present, and with the Lord President gave dignity to the Order thus passed. The Archbishop spoke very briefly of the changes that had been made in the Service, but regretted that the King had preferred the restoration of the triple anointing to the single act, which in the Archbishop's opinion was most impressive and most scriptural. He was very grateful to the Earl Marshal for telling him that he might be attended throughout the service by the two gentlemen (his sons) who accompany him in the procession. The old man, notwithstanding his great age, is really full of sense, and I was grateful to him for having constrained the Bishop of Winchester to restore the Order of Service to its traditional form. There is a great deal of lay wisdom in the Archbishop that nearly sixty years in holy orders have not obliterated.

April 24*th.*—The first Council at Buckingham Palace within living memory. I arrived early at Knollys's request and found him installed in palatial quarters compared with his lodgment at Marlborough House. The place has still the air of a somewhat premature installation on the part of its occupants, and there is evidently much to be done towards refurbishing its less honourable parts. The Archbishop, the Duke of Norfolk, and Cholmondeley assisted; the last-named came in a cutaway coat, contrary to all rule, and, when he reached the Presence, placed himself directly opposite His Majesty, his hands in his pockets, and chewing a

toothpick for all he was worth. The King was in the best of humours, and asked questions about the seals submitted for his approval.

April 25th.—I took to Buckingham Palace a sample for the binding of the royal copy of the Office of Divine Service to be used at the Coronation: purple morocco, with the Royal Arms within a heavily tooled border, with its counterpart on the back and a doublure of morocco and watered silk of the same colour. The King was good enough to express himself pleased with it, and a copy will be provided for him and the Queen, and less costly ones of a similar pattern in calf for the other members of the Royal Family.

May 1st.—Another meeting of the Executive, mostly occupied with detail as to the list of persons to be invited to the Coronation. In connection with the religious bodies, the Bishop of Winchester showed himself so extravagant in urging the claims of the clergy as representatives of the Church that I had to ask him whether lay persons were to be considered as devoid of religious belief, and therefore incapable of representing the Church of England.

May 5th.—I found time to preside over the annual meeting of the Travellers' Club, when some important changes in the club rules were adopted. Lord Fred FitzRoy made some rather unkind remarks about civil servants in connection with the hour of the ballot, which were fatal to the success of its alteration to three o'clock.

May 7th.—Hugh Cecil's speech on the second reading of the Education Bill made a prodigious impression. Occupants of both front benches turned as one man to listen to him, though it was not exactly the speech which Ministers wanted in support of the line they had taken in regard to the Bill. However, the elevation at which the argument was maintained, and the breadth of tolerance displayed in the assertion of the parents' supreme right in regard to the religious instruction of the child, were a great advance on the dull commonplaces of sectarian animosity, which as a rule distinguish educational debates. The appeal with which the speech concluded to those who, while unable to accept its theological basis, bow before the moral apostolate of Christianity, was couched in language of the highest eloquence, sustained at a level to the effect of which a momentary fall would have been fatal. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of men's minds with the preparations for the Coronation, he boldly appropriated the symbolism of the Regalia to his description of the mind adorned with all the rich furniture of moral excellence, but still the chamber of an empty throne, and, conquering his natural nervousness as he proceeded, left upon the House the conviction of an oratory to which this generation has not listened.

Chamberlain described it afterwards as a lay sermon, but the finest thing he had ever heard, and Asquith and J. Morley were equally struck.

May 9th.—Truly the ways of Bishops are inscrutable. I learn from Pigott that the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the medium of an undated letter of his chaplain, had directed the King's printers to make an addition to one of the prayers in the Coronation Service. This Eyre and Spottiswoode very properly declined to do without reference to the Stationery Office, though the University Presses had shown themselves more subservient, and issued a fresh edition containing the correction. I pointed out to Pigott that, though the words may have been omitted inadvertently, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Winchester were responsible for that, and that our duty was to adhere to the form we had received from the Archbishop and had passed through all the stages of formal approval up to that of the King in Council. Besides, the whole edition was on sale, and the action of the Archbishop was so irregular that, even if the omission had been of greater importance, I did not see how it could be repaired. He quite agreed, and formulated our decision in a very straight letter to the Archbishop.

May 12th.—We spent Sunday at Arundel, a place where the traditions of a stately and reverent life still survive. The castle has been restored by the present owner with a scrupulosity of sentiment it is impossible to praise too highly. The assimilation of the spirit of the past has taken the place of the sterile reproduction of its letter, with the result of elevating and subduing the mind to the reception of the most living lessons of history. No more fitting fabric could, indeed, enshrine the story of the great house, for centuries feudal Earls of Arundel, an honour transmitted, with the ancient heritage of the FitzAlans, to the son of the Duke of Norfolk who suffered under Queen Elizabeth for his ambitious intrigues in behalf of her imprisoned rival and heir, and on none could the glories of both lines have so properly devolved as on Henry, 15th Duke of Norfolk and 26th Earl of Arundel. In every obligation of life faithful to the highest ideals, a great nobleman and the leading Catholic layman, he is as punctual in the discharge of the most trivial courtesies as of the most solemn duties; an excellent man of business, an admirable host, a charming companion, and a most humble-minded Christian, he fills his position with a lustre and completeness, and yet with a modesty and self-effacement, for a parallel to which you must go back to St. Louis himself or the crowned Philosopher of the second century. The chapel is a monumental piece of early Gothic, as perfect in proportion and as exquisite in detail as "La Sainte Chapelle" itself, its resemblance to which constitutes a permanent link between the stainless souls of their respective

founders. The Edmund Talbots and a charming daughter, Lord and Lady Brassey, and Lady Northcote, were other features in the party, which included eighteen in all.

May 14*th.*—The Court of Claims wound up its sittings with the consideration of a few minor points, though the question of fees had threatened to become important owing to that part of the decision of the Committee of Privileges declaring the Lord Great Chamberlainship an office of profit. The King had let it be known that he would not pay any fees unless compelled to do so, and as these were compounded in 1838 for £185, the possibility of a collision of interests appeared imminent. However, at the last moment the Lord Chancellor's ingenuity was equal to a modification of the terms of the judgment, which leaves to the Lord Great Chamberlain who does not get his fees no remedy but a petition of right, while the Court was further considered to have deemed any holder of the office under the arrangement it sanctioned as only exercising as deputy the rights derivable from the several co-heiresses and therefore possibly not entitled to fees at all, while the net result of a long and expensive litigation would hardly be deemed a gratifying issue for any of the parties. Cholmondeley is also persistent in pushing his claims to a box in the Abbey, but here he is absolutely without ground of right, and all the space having been already appropriated, there are insurmountable physical difficulties in the way.

May 16*th.*—The Archbishop's preliminary expenses for the preparation of the Coronation Service have reached me from the Earl Marshal's office, and amount to the preposterous figure of £103, owing, it is said, to the exceptional character of the type used and the sweeping alterations made at the King's command during the process. What is to be thought of the improvidence of the Archbishop's advisers in using such a type for preparing a draft, which really necessitated nothing more than an interleaved copy of the old service, with the omission and additions indicated? Moreover, as the alterations were mainly in the direction of omissions, very little would suffice to have put them before the King in an intelligible manner, and the excuse for the sweeping changes made at his instance is wholly irrelevant. Even His Grace's lay secretary seems to have been incapable of suggesting businesslike methods; but I have often observed that laymen impregnated with the clerical atmosphere become as useless men of affairs as the clergy themselves. I have written to Mr. Lee, asking for full explanations before the Stationery Office can examine and deal with the account, which did not even contain the name of the printer, and concluded with a strong implicit condemnation of the course followed by those acting for the Archbishop.

May 23*rd.*—The papers submitted to the Cabinet to-day

ARUNDEL.

afford strong guarantee for the belief that peace is in sight. Mr. Chamberlain, in his despatch to Milner, calls the Boer reply on the whole satisfactory, and though difficulties may still have to be faced in connection with the conditions under which arms, and perhaps horses, may be retained, he sees no obstacle to meeting them on the main point, which is one of financial readjustment. As the war is costing over a million a week, it would be folly, as he says, to reject a liability which can amount to little more than that sum. Kitchener is convinced that generosity at the present moment is the best security for the ultimate establishment of a *modus vivendi* with the Boers, and is perhaps prepared to go further than Milner; but the two appear quite agreed upon the main lines the settlement should take. Another ten days, however, must elapse before the negotiations can be concluded.

May 24th.—I went down to Yorkshire last night for Cecil Duncombe's funeral, and reached Duncombe Park in the forenoon. His body lay in the chapel, and was borne through the house he had left ten days before in the best of health. A lovely summer sun, spreading a wealth of colour over the wooded hill-sides, gave to the surroundings a persuasive tranquillity as we threaded our way through the park he loved so well, past his father's memorial, to the beautiful church, and on to the graveyard at the summit of a steep acclivity. Here, in such happy contrast to the gloomy vaults which enshrine the remains of dead generations, he lies, some few feet below the surface, almost in touch with the stirring of the spring-time and sensitive to the whisper of the wind. There lie in close proximity his parents and his two nephews—both perished in their prime; and of all who have claimed or will claim the hospitality of the spot, no gentler, no more chivalrous and lovable figure will be numbered.

May 28th.—Haldane came by appointment to see the Lord President to-day, whose adhesion he secured to the great trust it is hoped to form in connection with the London University, by which a capital sum of £600,000 may be immediately forthcoming; £400,000 for the purposes of chairs in a technical university on the model of Charlottenburg, and £200,000 for post-graduate research, towards which the Technical Education Board will, it is expected, make grants of £20,000 a year, equal to the income on a capital sum of similar amount. Wernher and Beit are prepared to start the fund with a donation of £100,000, and to get others to imitate their example. Lord Rosebery will be Chairman of the Trust; Mr. Balfour, Lord Rothschild, and the Duke of Devonshire, with others, will give it all the prestige and authority possible. It is a great scheme, and worthy of the fertile and daring brain of its organiser.

While waiting for the Duke, I drew him to talk of the Education

Bill, and the part played by the leaders of the party in the controversies it has excited. He described himself as a pariah; his speech on the second reading, to which he entirely adhered, having excluded him from the Tabernacle. The Nonconformists have taken the bit between their teeth and bolted; Campbell-Bannerman gets down their side of the fence with more than his usual nimbleness, and Lord Rosebery had to face the risk of losing his rising influence with the party unless he said ditto to C.-B.

June 1st.—The news reached London this morning that peace was yesterday proclaimed. After two years and eight months' war, the doors of the temple of Janus are closed. Upon what a scene will the curtain of peace be drawn up: a territory as wide as France wasted and depopulated, the main lines of communication in the hands of a guard of a million soldiers, and the civil population of both belligerents gathered in certain centres and dependent on the army for the necessaries of life. The resettlement of such an area is as big a task as the conquest, and will perhaps lay a heavier burden on the imperial qualities of the race. It is not, however, premature to say that the Empire will confront the obligation of peace with the same tenacity of purpose and patient confidence in the future which have sustained it during the disasters and disappointments of the last thirty months. The great attributes of the soldier and the statesman will still be in request, and the high standard of achievement which has illustrated their application to the problem of war in the lives and labours of Lords Kitchener and Milner will know no faltering or decay when addressed to the solution of the profounder and more permanent problems of peace.

June 2nd.—A memorable scene in the House of Lords. Within a minute of the conclusion of prayers, the benches were thronged, the steps of the throne invisible, and the galleries crowded with ladies, who in many places looked as if they were climbing on each other's backs. Lord Salisbury first rose to pass a eulogium on the late Lord Pauncefote, and then, amid loud cheers, to make the formal announcement of Peace, the terms of which he read in clear and impressive tones. Great satisfaction was felt as one condition after another emphasised the fact that the British Government, except on the one point of pecuniary liability, had not yielded a jot to Boer importunity or the pressing desire to bring the war to an end on any terms. Political supremacy and military necessity are the features of the arrangement, and Lord Rosebery had the sense of the great assembly with him when he offered his hearty, unstinted, and unreserved congratulations to the Government on the announcement.

Campbell-Bannerman, in the course of a somewhat prolix narrative, with evident awkwardness avoided including the

Government in his congratulations, and tried by some belated cajoleries to obliterate the impression produced by his earlier references to "methods of barbarism" and "loathsome practices."

June 5th.—Lord Salisbury's speech in moving the vote of thanks to the Forces employed in South Africa was not a success: there was nothing inspiriting in his attitude; on the contrary, a deprecatory and subdued atmosphere pervaded every sentence, and he was more often than usual at a loss for the proper word, and occasionally had recourse to one that was not appropriate. Still, it was more satisfactory than the *disjecta membra* of poor Lord Spencer's oratory. Lord Rosebery forbore to assert his implicit claim to the leadership of a third party by preserving silence.

June 6th.—I went over Westminster Abbey with Esher and the Earl Marshal, to inspect the preparations. Incomplete as they are, and untidy as, therefore, the effect, I was agreeably surprised to note how little the features of the Abbey were impaired. Much has been done for people's comfort, everyone will have a chair, and the Chippendale seats for the Peers and Peeresses provide them with every luxury of space and ease.

A good story is told of Lord Rothschild's examination of a Polish Jew before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Lord Rothschild's attitude throughout has been in sympathy with the pauper immigrant, and he has to that extent been out of harmony with his colleagues. With some pomposity he accosted the witness, a hungry Lithuanian Jew, with bulbous eyes and an abnormal frontal development, though otherwise etiolated and physically defective, as "my good fellow," and asked him whether he would say what motive led to the constant flow of Polish Jews to the country, what in fact did they come for? "What do zey come for?" was the instant reply: "they all expect to be leetle Rothschilds!" Collapse of the great Rothschild, to the huge merriment of the auditory.

June 8th.—Thanksgiving at St. Paul's for the restoration of the blessings of peace. An impressive ceremony, but marred by the inadequacy of the arrangements. Capitular bodies appear to be miracles of inefficiency. Lord Roberts was hooted in St. Paul's Churchyard, and cheers called for Buller.

June 11th.—Council at Buckingham Palace. Sir J. Bonser sworn.

Haldane's scheme for the creation of a great trust charged with the equipment of a technological handmaid to the University of London, and making at the same time adequate provision for post-graduate research, is assuming large proportions. We had a long conference with the Duke on the subject, and interested him to the point of securing his adhesion to the trust and obtaining

a promise that he would approaeh Cassel and Chamberlain on the subject.

June 16*th.*—The reports of the King's health have cxeited the liveliest apprehension. The precise statements in the first issues of the evening journals led me to send at onee to Arthur Ellis for some authoritative information, and his reply, "No cause for alarm, King goes to Windsor this afternoon," was to some extent reassuring. Nevertheless, those best acquainted with the King's eonstitutional tendencies are entitled to their misgivings. Grcat vitality, such as His Majesty undoubtedly possesses, often masks the more insidious approaehes of disease, and by the exertions to which it excites is apt to contribute to the suecess of the attaek, when it comes, by premature cxhaustion of nervous energy.

June 20*th.*—The eloud hanging over Windsor has hardly lifted, though the official annouueements are reassuring. The faet remains that the King has lived in the closest seelusion, none of his guests having seen him, and been withdrawn from all excitement or emotion. The King of Saxony's death has enabled the festivities to be curtailed without stimulating anxiety, and it is hoped that by diligent eare the King may be equal to the fatigues of the ensuing week.

June 21*st.*—A very large gathering at Osterley marked by the presenee of some Indian magnates and a large number of Australians. The afternoon was fine, and there was more movement about the party than usual. The King's health and the possible effeet of its taking a bad turn were mueh discussed.

June 23*rd.*—I attended a rehearsal at the Abbey in motley: that is to say, some appeared in full dress aeeording to orders, some in half-drcss, with eut-away coats surmounted with eoronets, and others in all sorts of impromptu disguises, such as were provided by the loan of old eurtains and housings in the possession of the Abbey authorities. It took a long time to disentangle the proeession from its elements, and its passage to the theatre was the subjeet of mueh mirthful observation; but the elimax of absurdity was reaehed when dear old Speneer Ponsonby appeared representing the King, with a dingy brown vestment hung from his shoulders and supported by the King's pages, and carrying on his head a dusty biretta hastily lent him by one of the eanons. Only certain parts of the serviee were rehearsed, the blind Arehbishop being guided through the various stages of the Reeognition with some inevitable eonfusion. The pages grouped at the entranee of the south transept seized the oeeasion for the fourfold aeelamation of the King, and shouted at the tops of their voices, but in the almost empty building the noise rang hollow. At the proper moment the Earl Marshal shouted, "Bishops, enthrone the King!" when two lusty prelates seized upon the feeble body of

Photo by Grove, Son and Boullon.

CORONATION OF KING EDWARD.

The Duchesses of Marlborough, Portland, Sutherland, and Montrose bearing the canopy above Queen Alexandra.

Sir Spencer and hoisted him into the chair, when with great gravity he received the homage first of the Archbishops and then of the Seniors in the different degrees of the Peerage. Everyone admired the effect of the Abbey decorations and the broad yet subdued contrasts of colour they afforded. Previous to the arrival of the procession in the theatre, John Brocklehurst, the Queen's Equerry, took the four Duchesses of Marlborough, Sutherland, Portland, and Montrose through their movements with the canopy: they did not realise the importance of walking in step, and the Duchess of Marlborough did not appear to have strength enough to keep her side taut; but the beauty and grace of the four blinded the most critical to such superficial defects. With a woman as tall as the Queen beneath it, I should not be surprised if the canopy came into collision with her head. Cynthia Graham, looking lovely, brought down the young Duke of Leinster to act as one of the King's pages: he is a nice-looking lad, with some of his mother's charm of manner.

June 24th.—Few will forget the sensation caused this morning by the announcement that the King was undergoing an operation that might be fatal, and the Coronation in consequence postponed. Putting various indications together, I was not altogether unprepared for the latter, but the possible imminence of another accession did shatter one's composure. The journalists made a great deal out of the alleged change in the demeanour of the crowds with which the streets were thronged; but, as far as I could judge, the somewhat bored insensibility of the average sightseer was the prevalent humour both before and after the announcement. The effect on those who were rehearsing in the Abbey was prodigious, and the Bishop of London, with great readiness, converted the rehearsal into an intercessional service. I repaired at once to the Home Office and laid before the Home Secretary the difficulties in the way of interfering with the bank holiday, even if it were desirable to do so, and he at once took the view that it was impossible to stop it.

While waiting to see him, Digby had summoned the Chief of his Medical Staff, Whitelegge, who with prescient skill diagnosed the presence of an internal abscess as the source of the King's trouble, which turned out to be exactly true. He considered the condition very serious, if not critical, but far from hopeless. It was with great relief that we learnt an hour or two later that the operation had been successful, and I was much reassured by hearing from Arthur Ellis[1] in the evening that the King's condition, owing to the enforced abstinence of the last ten days, was considered by the doctors as very favourable for the success of the operation. He justified Francis Knollys in having described the ominous rumours at the end of last week as without the slightest

[1] Sir Arthur Ellis, Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

foundation, for the King's rally on Friday and Saturday was most marked. In the middle of the week some women, whom Arthur Ellis cursed, had come down to see him from London, and sent up his temperature ; but all bad symptoms had passed off, and everyone was most hopeful. These favourable signs, however, had proved illusory, as on his way back to London a change occurred which gave rise to serious alarm and resulted in the sudden recourse to the knife on the following morning. It appeared that the King had been living for days on tonics and stimulants, a state of things that testified to his anxiety about himself and the little influence doctors can exercise, as those about him were at one in deprecating the use of such expedients, but were powerless to compel their discontinuance.

The Duke of Norfolk was with me at one o'clock, having left Buckingham Palace before the operation was concluded. I assisted him in drawing an official announcement of the postponement for a special gazette this evening, and was surprised to hear of August being even suggested as the date when it might come off.

On leaving the House of Lords, where Lord Salisbury made an impressive statement, I met Chalmers, the Parliamentary Draftsman, on his way to assist the Lord Chancellor in preparing some suggestion for a regency against the meeting of the Cabinet hurriedly summoned for 6 p.m. I had made everything at the office ready, and obtained from Arthur Ellis a promise to let me have immediate information of the least change for the worse, which a conversation with the Duke did not lead me to think less improbable.

June 25th.—I was at Lord Rosebery's house at ten o'clock for a conference respecting the formation of Haldane's great trust in connection with the London University ; Messrs. Wernher and Beit, who have promised £100,000 towards the first half-million, and to secure donations of a similar amount when that sum is secured, were present, Haldane, Rücker on the part of the University, and Sidney Webb representing the Technical Education Board. Lord Rosebery introduced the subject, and Haldane explained succinctly the scheme so far as it could be outlined under the peculiar conditions of its inception and present development. Wernher, whose rugged form impressed me favourably, described the motives that had led him to take an interest in the movement, and dilated on the dearth of educational facilities for the advanced study of engineering, mining, and metallurgy. The men he and others wanted were not to be found in England, and the only alternative to the employment of Germans was the foundation of a technological department of the University, equipped so as to give the best possible training in all the branches of industrial science, and to open out opportunities for research

by which the store of positive knowledge might be indefinitely increased. Land for the purpose of erecting laboratories and certain rooms was available at South Kensington in the immediate neighbourhood of the university buildings, and it was hoped that the Exhibition of 1851 Commissioners would see their way to make important contributions to the success of this scheme. Sir F. Mowatt, who was to have furnished information on this part of the subject, did not arrive till the meeting had broken up, but enough was said and hinted at to ensure the accomplishment of the general design, as it was understood that the County Council would contribute in the form of upkeep an equivalent to any capital sum that might be raised, and no doubt was expressed that the Rhodes trustees would assist. I was able to tell the Lord President much of this the same evening, and get his promise to interest Cassel, whom Lord Rosebery had described as somewhat lukewarm and disposed to criticise the bigness of the scheme. The Duke told me that, owing to my information, he had had a great triumph at the Cabinet in convicting the Lord Chancellor of ignorance, as that great personage did not seem to have heard of the Act providing for a regency in the event of the Sovereign dying while the Heir to the Throne was abroad. Fortunately, the tension caused by the King's illness is relaxed; though the first bulletin this morning was very cautiously worded, information has oozed out which tends to allay anxiety and makes one hope that in another forty-eight hours we may begin to look forward to a gradual recovery.

July 1st.—The King's condition is so far satisfactory that the Prince of Wales has been able to hold a review of the Colonial contingents on the Horse Guards parade. I had some eighteen people on my stand, including Ulrica Duncombe and Cynthia Graham. Some 2,500 troops marched past, and presented to the mind a very vivid picture of the multiple and motley forces at the disposal of the Empire, all inspired by a common sentiment and ready to take their orders from a common centre. The Fijians and the Chinese were perhaps the most curious contributions to the spectacle, but the Canadians and Australians touched one more nearly, and their witness to the ascendancy of the white races beyond the seas.

July 2nd.—The Indian Review took place to-day, and, though in numbers less considerable, the stalwart figures and brilliant uniforms of many of the contingents stimulated the imagination to flights of imperial feeling fitly coloured by an oriental glow. The antiquity and mystery of India, its polyglot and multiform peoples, its secular divisions and prejudices, its haunting racial traditions and profound religious idealism, all seemed summed up and expressed in this fugitive pageant, the very brevity of which struck one like the glory of a dream. No less than twenty-

three people were present on my stand in the Privy Council Office garden: Lady Mary Morrison, Lady Hylton, Lady Galloway, and Lady Helen Carnegie and Mrs. Hope were there.

July 5th.—The India Office Durbar last night was a most gorgeous spectacle; the great hall had been turned into a reception-room, and every window and aperture opening on it were treated as loggias from which the crowd that thronged the corridors watched the ceremony of homage. Previously the Indian magnates who took part in it filed along a state passage lined with brilliantly dressed and accoutred Indian troops, through which the Secretary of State and his Council, and subsequently the Prince of Wales also, passed to the hall. There the magnates one by one presented the hilts of their swords to the touch of the Heir to the Throne, as a sign of fealty and submission, and, as one after another performed this striking act, the mind gathered up the threads of Indian history and was carried back by a resistless current to origins lost in the twilight of fable. No more impressive epilogue to the review of Wednesday could have been desired to give weight and persistence to the sentiments it evoked.

July 12th.—I went to Harwich with Claud Hamilton[1] and a party of his invitation for the trial trip of a new Great Eastern steamer.[2] We spent two hours very pleasantly on the North Sea, and the rest of the time less profitably eating and drinking at Harwich.

July 14th.—Lord Salisbury's expected resignation is now an accomplished fact, and the longest Ministry for nearly eighty years is at an end. The time is not yet; we are still too near that great figure to view him in his true perspective in relation to men or events, but Mr. Balfour is not far wrong in describing him as the most striking personality of his day. He is not so, of course, to the crowd; they want a figure that appeals to them more directly in its susceptibility to their winds of prejudice and gusts of passion, in its participation in their weaknesses and its perfervid call to their support; and such a figure, on a grandiose, not to say heroic scale, they found in Mr. Gladstone. But to the student, the thinker, the historian, and most of all to the philosopher, Lord Salisbury's character and achievements will always have a far profounder interest. The almost monachal austerity of his isolation from the normal pursuits of Englishmen, the detachment of his mental attitude from current feeling, his habit of thinking aloud and giving his countrymen the fruits of sagacious and disinterested reflection, without any tendency to flatter their vainglory or tickle their palate—these are traits which give him

[1] Lord Claud Hamilton, Chairman of the G.E.R.

[2] The vessel subsequently concerned with the capture and death of Captain Fryatt.

a special niche in the temple of English fame, a special claim on the gratitude of prudent and thoughtful statesmanship.

July 18*th.*—It would seem from the intimations given to the Earl Marshal's office that the Coronation is to take place before August is twelve days old, and we are plunged anew in the work of preparation. We have asked for a Council next week in order to submit proclamations giving formal effect to the King's decision fixing the Coronation and providing for a public holiday on the occasion.

July 26*th.*—The Duke of Devonshire, Lord James, and I left Victoria for the royal yacht. There was a strong wind blowing which made our transference in a launch from the "Alberta" to the "Victoria and Albert" a task of some nicety. The new yacht is now all that could be desired, and quite a fine specimen of naval architecture, though the long line of deck saloon gives her a somewhat heavy appearance aft. The cabins on the main deck are excellent, with a broad corridor between them, in which we waited, talking with the Prince of Wales and some of the suite, until the King was ready. His Majesty received us in the principal deck saloon. Our entry was the occasion of a comic and slightly disconcerting incident, as, moving forward somewhat quickly in response to the King's invitation to shake hands, I was assailed by his Irish terrier flying out from under his chair and barking loudly. Fortunately I was undisturbed, but I pictured to myself mentally the Prince of Wales being called upon to choke the beast off, and a hasty summons to Treves to dress my wound. A similar incident is related of the Court of Charles II, but in that case the man was badly bitten, and showed his loyalty by the remark, "God bless Your Majesty, but God d—— Your Majesty's dog!"

The King presented a remarkably robust appearance for a man who but a month before had been at death's door: paler and thinner than usual, he yet had a look of health and vitality that was most reassuring; his voice was strong, his gestures those of a man without any feeling of weariness or lassitude, and he signed his name with the usual firmness. All are delighted with his progress, and no doubt is entertained of his ability to face the fatigues of the Coronation a fortnight hence, though as yet he has not been allowed to get on his legs. While we were waiting luncheon a large schooner yacht that passed round us had her main gaff broken in two and the mainsail rent to the boom and bore up utterly disabled. Before luncheon I was presented to the Queen, who looked a very stately figure at the head of the table. I was placed between the Prince of Wales and Prince Charles of Denmark. The last-named was particularly agreeable, and, though his command of English is not complete, talked fluently and intelligently. He was much interested in my

reminiscences of yachting in Danish waters. There was an extraordinary absence of stiffness about the whole party, both the Princesses exerting themselves to be pleasant. At the conclusion of luncheon we had to leave somewhat hurriedly, as the time consumed over it had used up all our margin. I had promised the Duke the special from Portsmouth should reach Three Bridges in time to catch a train to Eastbourne, and the pledge was redeemed by our doing the distance in an hour and eleven minutes. On our way back across the Solent I had some conversation with him about the forthcoming changes in the Cabinet, which it had been settled with the King should be formally completed at the Council to be held on the Monday after the Coronation. I understood that James was to go, which he clearly did not contemplate, but I daresay he will not be inconsolable when he hears it.

August 2nd–5th.—At Cowes on board the "Peregrine" with Cawdor.[1] All points to the King having made rapid progress, since I saw him a week ago, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Coronation being successfully accomplished.

Sunday was a broken day, most of which I spent restfully on board the yacht. The following morning we saw the start for the racing from the castle; an ideal morning, with plenty of wind and bright sunshine. No more animated picture could present itself to the eye, and the skill shown by the racing craft in threading their way through the closely packed lines of moored shipping was wonderful.

Before I left the castle I was pleased to hear of Spencer Chapman's election, which will, I hope, efface the recollection of his previous disappointment.

After an excellent luncheon on board, at which Henry Cavendish and Lady Harriet assisted, we cruised for some hours looking at the racing, and bore up to Southampton in the evening, ready for an early start on the morrow. My fellow guest was Llewellyn, M.P. for North Somerset.

August 6th.—The rehearsals for the Coronation have now reached a point which enables one to forecast the progress of the pageant. The six weeks that have elapsed have seen a great change in the methods pursued, and the Earl Marshal may be congratulated on the respite, as only a miracle in June could have averted a fiasco. The practical disestablishment of the heralds and the substitution for them in the control of the different sections of the procession of a body of young Guardsmen under the direction of Sir R. Pole-Carew, seasoned to discipline and precision of movement, has evolved order out of chaos; the different elements in the procession are now fitted to the whole and have been taught their parts with a mechanical exactness which does

[1] Third Earl of Cawdor, 1st Lord of the Admiralty, 1905.

CORONATION OF KING EDWARD.

KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER.

Earl Spencer, Earl of Rosebery, and Earl Cadogan bearing the Canopy.

the greatest credit to their drill, and I have no longer any misgivings as to the result. The Duke of Norfolk asked me to take the part of the King in the dress rehearsal to-day, but unfortunately I had an appointment with Sandars[1] in relation to the change of Ministry at twelve, and was therefore prevented enjoying the title-rôle in a very interesting piece. I saw, however, the procession marshalled and conducted to the sacrarium without any hitch, Welldon looking on with a proud assumption of responsibility for what had been achieved in spite of himself and his colleagues. I inspected the places I and the lady that accompanies me are to occupy, and found they commanded a beautiful view of all the most important part of the ceremony.

The changes in the Government bring two men of great promise, George Wyndham and Austen Chamberlain, into the Cabinet, and reduce its numbers by two—changes that are altogether to the good. The Lord President surrenders the Board of Education, which compels the departure of Gorst. Lord Londonderry, with Sir W. Anson as his lieutenant, may make an efficient President: at any rate, he will be popular with his staff, and may be trusted to listen to advice. I am sorry that Raglan is to go. The real fact is, he has allowed faculties, that win our consideration, to rust, and the attention that he had given to one branch of the military problem appeared to absorb his mind to the exclusion of every other.

August 8th.—I received this morning the final list of the ministerial changes and have submitted to Knollys the arrangements for their formal acceptance at the Council on Monday; so, with a heavy list of business and nineteen Privy Councillors to be sworn, we shall have enough to do. I am still without exact information whether Cassel is a Jew or a Christian: further, there are rumours that he may turn out a Roman Catholic.

Bertie Mitford (Lord Redesdale), Harry and Eva Anstruther dined with me. The first-named gave us the best of his agreeable qualities; it is characteristic of him to be as pleasant where two or three are gathered together as in larger company. Harry appears content with the ministerial changes, though they leave him where he is, and pass a junior over his head; but he must by this time have become alive to the fact that his succession to the office of Chief Whip would excite a mutiny.

August 9th.—The great day was ushered in by twenty-one guns saluting the sunrise, and by seven the streets were alive with carriages passing to the Abbey. My uncle Feversham called for me at 7.50, and we were at the west door by 8.15, which was in striking contrast with the experiences of many who left their houses about the same time, and could not have been far behind us in entering the string. The scene in the

[1] Private Secretary to Mr. Balfour.

annexe was brilliant and animated to a degree. The elements of the procession were there, in as yet unorganised medley: Regalia-bearers attended by their pages, heralds in fantastic tabards, ladies-in-waiting, and maids-of-honour collected in eager and expectant groups, gold-staff officers passing to and fro with orders for distant parts of the Abbey, or handing the arrivals out to their places in nave or choir. For nearly an hour I watched the gathering assemblage and exchanged greetings with hosts of friends; for no better moment could have offered itself for taking stock of the crowd and attempting to probe its feelings. Whether due to the bewildering effect of their surroundings, or the unwonted aspect of their garments, many of the women carried themselves as if in a trance, or like figures in a pageant which were moved by some hidden and mysterious mechanism. It was emphatically a day for those who were not in their first youth, or even past the threshold of middle life, and it was not as a rule the women who are most beautiful in ordinary clothes who looked their best in peeress's robes.

The places given me were in the central angle of the south-west side of the south transept, just above the thrones and looking straight into the sacrarium. By the King's kindness, members of the Executive Committee were allowed to recommend a lady for an invitation, in addition to the privilege of having their wives asked. My wife being in Scotland, I had a place to fill, and that was given to Mrs. Jack Robarts.

The period of expectation was enlivened by the procession of the canons and prebends to the west end with the Regalia, but the constant stream of arrivals at the Peers' seats immediately below was disturbed by one untoward incident. Sir R. Paget, who was sitting behind me, was seized with a fit, ushered in by guttural sounds of most ominous significance. However, Sir J. Dorington, who assisted to remove him, returned in a few minutes with a reassuring account. At last the sound of guns announced the presence of the royal cortège at the west entrance, and soon the advanced sections of the Procession broke in a succession of waves upon the steps of the altar. Of the substance of it we could see little, but all accounts go to show that the care spent upon its organisation resulted in the maintenance of the utmost order and dignity, as its varied elements passed from the nave up the choir to the positions assigned. Previously the royal visitors and the different members of the Royal Family and the Prince and Princess of Wales had proceeded straight to their seats, and among them there was not a more graceful figure than that of Lady Mary Lygon. The Queen's entry into the choir was greeted in the customary way by the Westminster Boys, but the attempts to incorporate the "Vivats" with the music of the anthem, instead of allowing it to crash in as an interruption,

proved ineffective, though, when the advent of the King came to be hailed in the same way, which, as a matter of fact, happened prematurely and had to be repeated, the rhythm of his salutation answered better to musical requirements.

The Recognition was only given once from behind King Edward's chair, and the Service then proceeded on the approved lines, with the exception of the complete excision of the Litany and sermon and the singing of the *Te Deum* at the time of the Recess. No departure otherwise was made from adherence to the customary symbolism, though its punctual performance was much retarded by the invincible obstinacy of the Archbishop in not delegating the more complicated part of the ritual to others. The expedient of holding above his eyes scrolls on which his liturgical and ceremonial utterances had been engrossed in large type, answered very imperfectly, and the belief which the Bishop of Winchester expressed to me, that the practice would be taken for one of remote antiquity, looked ridiculous in the light of actual experience. By the time that they were in use the light in the Abbey had become exceedingly bad, the scrolls were not held with any remarkable steadiness, and their succession was not observed with punctuality or despatch ; moreover, the Archbishop blundered sadly, adjuring the King to give his special protection to " widowers," and then with painful conscientiousness sub stituting " widows " ; the efforts to prompt him only seemed to muddle matters further, and he had to be left to stumble through as best he could. It was a striking tribute to the impressiveness of the ceremonial that its effect was not marred to any great extent by these disquieting accompaniments.

With the Crowning the cornice of the sacrarium broke into a line of light which, had electricity been substituted for gas, would have been attended with imposing effect. As it was, the blind Archbishop might just as well have been allowed the benefit of the gas-jets to fit the crown on His Majesty's head. The Enthronisation and Homage were conducted with becoming pomp, though with the latter the Archbishop's infirmities again nearly led to a catastrophe, as the Bishops who supported him pulled different ways in their efforts to raise him to his feet, and, but for the timely assistance of the King, he would have been dragged off his legs by the Bishop of Winchester. This energetic prelate, on going to the altar a few minutes later to ask how the Archbishop felt, received the reply, " Go away ! " in the old man's most rasping voice.

The act of the Queen's Anointing was to my mind the moment when, from the point of view of commemorative impressiveness, with all that light and colour, harmonious grouping and effective stage arrangement could contribute to a grandiose conception, the ceremonial reached its highest pitch of beauty. Few who

witnessed the scene will ever lose the recollection of four of the loveliest women in England, with their trailing purple robes and sumptuous *appareil*, supporting the canopy beneath which the stately figure of England's Queen received the holy oils, and when the group dissolved it seemed like the passing of a dream that might have haunted the imagination of Vathek or De Quincey. The kindred ceremony in connection with the King's anointing was not so effective; the four supporters of the canopy were not such striking personalities, and Garter robes in the dim light looked black and funereal, even to the extent of suggesting the watchers at the four corners of a catafalque.

The traditional stages of the great symbolic pageant were now all but over, and the Communion Service sealed with its solemn significance the import of all that had gone before. Again the infirmities of the Archbishop, assisted by the greater feebleness of the Dean of Westminster, who insisted upon his privilege of administering the Cup to the Queen, were allowed to detract from the severe dignity that should distinguish such an office; all the manual acts were performed *à tâtons*, neither could see the intending communicants, and the Dean of Westminster narrowly escaped emptying the contents of the chalice upon the Queen. However, the invincible determination of all concerned to ignore little breaches of decorum and see nothing but the broad lines of an historic and immemorial ceremony, assisted by the extreme tact, authority, and exactness of the King's observance of the part assigned him, ended in concealing the little flaws I have mentioned behind the sacrosanct solemnity of the rite, and the two hours and a half during which the King was in the Abbey passed without any strain upon the attention and interest of those gathered within view of the sanctuary.

The Recess, or retirement to King Henry VII's chapel, during which the *Te Deum* was sung, was prolonged in order to give the King some very necessary rest and refreshment, and it was with feelings of great satisfaction that, on the re-forming of the procession, he was observed to take his place, bearing the sceptre and orb, without any sign of fatigue, and to proceed with firm and majestic step to the west door of the Abbey, a crowned King receiving the plaudits of his people, under the same roof that once rang to the shouts acclaiming the "Victor of Agincourt."

Some time elapsed before we could leave our seats, but in passing to the staircase we witnessed a remarkable incident—the headlong fall of no less a person than the Duchess of Devonshire.

On the withdrawal of the Gentlemen-at-Arms who were on duty in the choir, a file of Grenadiers was drawn across the steps at the east end of the choir to prevent persons pressing to the egress until the royal and supplementary processions had left. The

Photo by Grove, Son and Boulton, by permission of Sir A. Farnham Burke.

CORONATION OF KING EDWARD BY ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE.

The Marquess of Londonderry with the Sword of State.

Duchess, impatient at being stopped, engaged in some discussion with the officer-in-command, and then, pressing her way through, missed her footing, fell heavily forward, and rolled over on her back at the feet of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who was just leaving his stall; her coronet flew off and struck the stalls at some distance from the spot. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was too paralysed by the suddenness of the apparition to offer any assistance; but willing hands, directed by the indefatigable Soveral, at last restored the illustrious lady to her legs, Mrs. Asquith secured her coronet and placed it on her head, and after some little attention to her ruffled hair she was permitted to proceed, not apparently much the worse for the accident.

After restoring Mrs. Robarts to the Hathertons, with whom she had come, I went to luncheon at John Thynne's house in the Cloisters. Miss Agatha's pretty figure, framed in a Gothic arch, was at the entrance of the garden, and beyond, in spite of the cold, a table was laid *al fresco*, at which ladies in evening dress and men in uniform were having luncheon, of which I participated with avidity, and then joined my uncle at the entrance of the House of Lords just in time to reap the benefit of a lift home, which I reached about ten minutes after four.

In the evening I dined at Lansdowne House for the purpose of looking at the illuminations afterwards. Lady Lansdowne, Charles Fitzmaurice, and Blackie and Mrs. Hope were the whole party. Notwithstanding the efforts of her son to deter her, Lady Lansdowne persisted in going out, and, not content with the excitements offered by Piccadilly, would venture on going down St. James's Street. At the junction of this street with Pall Mall the crowd became very dense; going on, we discovered a cordon of police drawn across opposite Marlborough House, and learnt that the crowd had become too great to permit the maintenance of two streams. Ingress from St. James's was therefore stopped, and the effort made to divert the current setting down St. James's Street towards St. James's Palace and the Park. In effecting this in opposition to the downward pressure of the crowd, a good deal of crushing and struggling took place. Mrs. Hope and Charles Fitzmaurice disappeared, and I began to be a little alarmed at my responsibility for Lady Lansdowne's safety. However, she behaved with the greatest pluck and good humour, and with Blackie's assistance we finally extricated her and took a line down Cleveland Row into the Park, where she proved her exhaustion by asking to sit down for a while. I was glad to get her back safely to Lansdowne House and repair to bed after a most memorable yet fatiguing day.

August 10*th.*—I spent some time with the Duke at Devonshire House this morning, in reference to the business for to-morrow's Council. He had just seen the Duchess off to Aix-les-Bains,

seemingly none the worse for her fall, of which he knew very little.

I saw Lady Hylton in the afternoon and entered into a provisional arrangement to take her to the Naval Review. Sir D. Probyn sent me an intimation that the King proposed to bestow on me the Commandership of the Victorian Order after the Council to-morrow.

I met the Duke of Norfolk, who had seen the King yesterday afternoon, and been assured of his complete satisfaction with the way in which the Coronation had been conducted. He desired that his warmest thanks should be conveyed to all concerned.

August 11*th.*—I had a formidable task this morning in marshalling no less than nineteen Privy Councillors to be sworn and arranging for the transfer of seals with the proper formalities. Fortunately Lord Leven, who acted as choragus, arrived early enough to permit of being carefully drilled, and obeyed his directions most faithfully, so that the others had a pattern of conduct to which to adhere. I discovered from Lord Rothschild the carefully guarded secret of Sir E. Cassel's religious belief: he had, it appears, become a Catholic on his wife's deathbed, at her earnest solicitation, and was sworn accordingly. The Duke of Norfolk was not aware that he was so even nominally, and will, I hope, now ask him to contribute towards the completion of the Cathedral. It was a great day for men of Jewish blood, for besides the Privy Councillorship conferred on Cassel and Lord Rothschild, the latter also received the Grand Cross of the Victorian Order, and his brother the Commandership of the same. The King gave me my badge with some words of great consideration and kindness, and, as a personal gift from him, an Order bearing his Mother's name could not be otherwise than welcome, though I trust I shall never attach an exaggerated value to the possession of such baubles. Lord James, who was one of the recipients of the Grand Cross, gave me a lift back to the Privy Council Office, and talked very sensibly about his surrender of office, though the suggestion to give it up may not have been altogether expected. It was with some reluctance that the Duke of Norfolk had accepted any decoration, but on the King's reminding him that Lord Salisbury had taken the G.C.V.O. as a personal token of his Sovereign's regard, he of course withdrew all demur.

August 16*th.*—I called for Lady Hylton at 7.30, when she was gaily tripping down to breakfast, believing it to be only seven o'clock. I could not allow her more than five minutes for that meal, and even then, had the approaches to Waterloo Station been crowded, we might have missed the train. There proved, however, to be no pressure at all, and fully one-third of the places in the train were not occupied. Bill Duncombe joined

us, and we reached Southampton at ten and immediately embarked, finding an excellent breakfast ready on board. It is fair to state that I never remember anything better donc to meet the comfort and convenience of the nation's guests; not only were the meals substantial, but of excellent quality and served with every attention to detail.

The first impression of the great mass of vessels collcctcd at Spithead was disappointing; we were hardly able to see the forest for the trees; there seemed a want of purpose in their aggregation, a lack of design in their formation, a mere *tour de force* of numbers without homogeneity, common impulse, or direction; and I have frequently been much more struck by a fleet of ten or twelve ships under way. However, as we entered the lines and passed ship after ship bearing names aflush with the pride of secular tradition, the Navy of to-day no longer stood alone in its pomp of structure and efficiency of dcath-dealing equipment, but took on all the glory of an historic past. Imagination caught fire as one ship after another revived different pages of the immortal story, and when the detonations of the salute broke through the startled air it seemed as if the dead themselves were being summoned to assist: " Tous les morts qui ont préparé, depuis longtemps, ce triomphe de leurs fils; tous les illustres couchés sous les dalles de Westminster, et les ignorés qui jonchent le lit des mers."

We were brought to anchor not far from the spot eventually occupied by the royal yacht, and had a very good view of her movements up and down the lines. This, the culminating moment of the Review, certainly lacked impressiveness; all sound of cheering is lost in such a theatre, and the collection of the ships' companies round the ship is a very tame substitute for manning the yards. It would have been better if each ship had saluted as the King came alongside.

Our day was over shortly after four, but it was nearly 7.30 before we were disembarked at Southampton. Just as in 1897, a distant storm broke about nine o'clock and gravely interfered with the contentment of those who had stayed to see the illuminations. I had persuaded Lady Hylton to give up all idea of it, and she accompanied Mrs. Ernest Farquhar to Lyndhurst. Thus died away the last vibration of coronation pageantry.

September 12th.—I returned to London to-day, after three weeks' absence, during which I have been to Genoa and came back by sea to Falmouth in a large yacht Spencer Chapman had acquired. At Gibraltar, ten days ago, I heard that the King would hold a Council for some urgent Colonial Office business about the middle of the month, and, on arrival in England, found that I was expected at Balmoral on the 13th. At Gibraltar I had sought means of returning in less time than was promised

by the average speed of the yacht, but no mail steamers offered the opportunity, and I shrank from the heat and tedium of a journey across Spain. The first part of the voyage threatened delay, as we encountered the usual head-wind off Cape St. Vincent, and were very slow in reaching the latitude of Lisbon. However, after passing Cape Carvoeiro, we had a strong southerly to south-easterly breeze, which we carried with us two-thirds of the way across the Bay, and were off Falmouth in five days eighteen hours from Gibraltar, and, as it turned out, just in the nick of time to enable me to transact the necessary business in London.

I was much struck with the immense works in progress at Gibraltar; the different basins under construction will afford all the accommodation necessary, but the utility of these, and of the dock which is being hollowed in the west side of the rock, is subject to the neutrality of Spain, as they are open to attack from guns mounted at Algeciras. A tunnel has been hollowed through the rock in connection with another dock which it is intended to form on the east side in a position not liable to the same objection.

In our passage round the Peninsula I was much impressed by the extreme aridity of the country: from headland to headland, the same unpeopled solitudes, the same sterile magnificence of form, but devoid of all the graces of vegetation. Cintra and the mountains that form the background of Finisterre and the gloomy line of crags terminating to the north in Cape Villano, were the most conspicuous features in the long procession of coast scenery that passed before us. Spencer Chapman is to be congratulated on his new purchase; she is a splendid vessel of 600 tons, with excellent qualities as a sea-boat both under steam and sail; but after ten months' neglect in Genoa she is in need of a thorough overhaul.

September 14th.—I arrived at Balmoral last night, being joined by Lord Cromer at Aberdeen, with whom I had, as three years ago, the pleasure of completing the journey. There is no sign about him of any diminution of energy, and he touched upon many topics of interest with all his old vivacity and force. Akers-Douglas is the minister in attendance, and the other guests are the Duke and Duchess of Fife, Soveral, Mensdorff, and an excitable little Italian artist called Martino, who accompanied the Prince and Princess of Wales in the "Ophir," and speaks with extreme rapidity of utterance a curious jargon of English, French, and Italian.

Unlike the practice in the Queen's time, the whole party in the house, King and Queen included, dine together. Jimmie Webb and Lady Cecily were also there from Mar Lodge. The King and Queen entered the drawing-room where we were all assembled, and shook hands with the newcomers, and then proceeded into the

dining-room together. The Queen's manner during dinner was much more vivacious than I had been led to expect, and she wore an expression of interest that belied her deafness, though Lord Cromer told me he did not think she heard a word he said.

After dinner we were called upon to witness a cinematograph entertainment; the scenes were mostly taken from the Coronation Procession, and the gilded coach was presented to us *ad nauseam*; very few of the figures were recognisable, and the oscillation of the medium affected the optic nerves most unpleasantly. The display opened with a vulgar presentment of the King on a very large scale, which elicited from His Majesty the characteristic remark: "Decorations on the wrong side!"

The whole party attended Crathie Church this morning, and the Prince and Princess of Wales from Abergeldie joined the royal party.

I was particularly fortunate in the members of the Household I found in attendance; it would be difficult to meet three better fellows than George Holford, Davidson, and Frederick, and Lady Alice Stanley is one of the straightest, most unaffected, and pleasantest of women.

Lord Cromer talked with great judgment on the religious question in France. He could not but approve the action of the Government in removing Colonel de St. Remy from the Army, and instanced an analogous case which occurred long ago at Malta, when the Duke of Wellington treated with similar severity scruples that restrained a sentry from obeying orders in presenting arms to the Blessed Sacrament. It was no question of the truth or falsehood of any particular religious system, but sane statesmanship should never ignore the assistance to be derived by politicians from the forces of religion, did they only know how to handle them.

September 15th.—At the Council this morning, which was attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Fife, Douglas, and Sir D. Probyn, the King asked for information about the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor of Malta, as to which the Colonial Office had neglected to advise him. I had not the material for a reply, but the Prince of Wales appeared to know the conditions under which the office had previously existed and was now to be revived.

On leaving the room the King said he should hope to see me before I went away, and accordingly, just before starting, Douglas and I were received by him in the corridor outside the room where he was having his luncheon, and favoured with a very cordial good-bye.

On our way to Aberdeen I had a long conversation with Douglas on incidents connected with the recent ministerial changes, in regard to which I have no doubt that his advice was

as freely taken by Mr. Balfour as it was wont to be by Lord Salisbury. Moreover, I do not think he makes use of their confidential relations to further his own ambitions, and can believe him when he says that he assured his chief of his willingness to stand aside, should it be thought expedient.

The question of Gorst's pension is still unsettled. It appears that in their interview Mr. Balfour did not leave him in any doubt of his distrust, but told him he was anxious to meet his wishes in any way he could. Gorst, however, is not the worst offender: Hanbury is more highly placed and dangerous, for he enjoys an independence that renders his power to injure his colleagues commensurate with his will.

I was glad to have my belief confirmed that James had taken the suggestion of his retirement with admirable temper; and the same may be said of "Jesse." The substitution of Acland-Hood for Walrond was not effected with the same absence of friction. Both Harry Anstruther and Ailwyn Fellowes took umbrage at the promotion: the former, however, could hardly have supposed that as a Liberal Unionist he could claim the principal place in the management of the joint parliamentary party. The case of Ailwyn Fellowes is somewhat different, but Douglas was probably right in thinking the controlling rein wanted tightening after the good-humoured but indulgent discipline of Walrond, and in my opinion he was equally right in believing that "the Pink'un" would be a better agent of the change than Fellowes, who, with all his pleasant qualities, is perhaps wanting in that occasional rigour so essential to a Whip that does not intend to be trifled with.

In organising ability Hood is the more capable man; the years spent as a regimental adjutant have equipped him to deal with men, and he has a forcible way of expressing himself which, combined with some power of sarcasm, makes him a formidable factor in the disciplinary machine of a party.

October 12th.—I returned to London last night, and spent some time with the Duke of Devonshire this morning discussing the prospects of the adjourned session. There appears to have been some ground for the belief that a short time ago the Prime Minister's confidence was shaken by the outcry against the Education Bill, but the resolution to proceed was inevitable. Chamberlain views the outbreak in Birmingham with some apprehension, and says, notwithstanding his diplomacy, Liberal Unionists are transferring their allegiance by hundreds. I ventured to say that the campaign of misrepresentation has been left too long without effective rejoinder, and that in my opinion nothing could be better for the fortunes of the Bill than the early resumption of the discussion in Parliament. Now that he is relieved from the details of educational administration, the Lord President

seems full of readiness to take up keenly the work of the Privy Council, and will do what he can to induce Lord Rosebery to sit on the Committee to hear the Liverpool Petition.

October 16th.—The agitation of the London bankers to obtain a holiday on the 25th has come to a head. The political objections to it are so strong that it has been the object of the Government all along to avoid it, and it was on this ground that Saturday was selected for the Procession; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who in the City is regarded as the *alter ego* of his late colleague on the Directorate of the Union Bank, Mr. Schuster, has been most persistent in his efforts, and a formal resolution forwarded to the Lord President by Lord Avebury has forced us to take the question up officially. A conference accordingly took place this afternoon in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's room, in the House of Commons, at which the Home Secretary, Mowatt, myself, and Sandars were present. In the outcome I was instructed to see the Governor of the Bank of England as early as possible the following day, and if he shared the view that the holiday could be confined to London without grave inconvenience, a telegram was to be sent to the Lord President at Newmarket to arrange with the King for a Council at the first opportunity.

October 17th.—I saw the Governor of the Bank of England this morning, a mild and rather nervous old gentleman, who admitted that he had felt snubbed by the reception of his first suggestions for a bank holiday, but agreed that the inconvenience of one confined to London would be less than the attempt to transact business with all the avenues of approach blocked, and a holiday has accordingly been agreed to; but I obtained the consent of the Law Officers to a draft limiting its scope in express words and settled with Ministers to accompany the announcement with a notification to shopkeepers and employers of labour generally that it did not apply to them.

October 20th.—Ritchie and Sir D. Probyn formed with the Lord President the quorum for to-day's Council. The business, which included the defacing of two Scottish seals by the King, was over very quickly: the bankers had their Proclamation.

October 25th.—The luncheon at the Guildhall was a stately affair, though the time one had to give to it was out of all proportion to the actual length of the ceremony. Lord Balfour relieved the monotony of the wait in the Library by making for the end of the room, where he expected to find the Lady Mayoress, whence he had to be brought back to the side by an officer despatched in pursuit, when he made his salutations covered with blushes. About a quarter to one we adjourned to the Hall, where the arrangements at the upper end for the reception of the Royal Party and the entertainment of the principal guests were conceived in the most admirable spirit. The King and

Queen arrived shortly after one, and the presentation of the address was quickly disposed of. About half an hour was given to the more serious business of luncheon, and as soon as the toasts were over the Royal Party left. I managed to get out with the suite, and, walking to the Mansion House station, reached St. James's Park by 2.30. I was thus in the Privy Council Office a full half-hour before the head of the Procession appeared. Except the King's immediate escort, all the troops were in overcoats; so that the general effect was lugubrious to the highest degree, and as unlike anything in the shape of a pageant as could well be imagined. There was no great movement of the masses in the streets, the volume of cheering was necessarily thin, and the whole scene suggested the belated revival of a drama the interest of which was long since extinct—an impression which the formal declaration of royal satisfaction subsequently published did not dissipate.

October 26th.—The Thanksgiving for the King's recovery could not at this interval of time be without a somewhat perfunctory note, but the scene within the Cathedral was grandiosely beautiful, and much of the service was rendered most effectively. Here I must award the palm to Sir G. Martin's *Te Deum* and the singing of "God Save the King" by six thousand voices accompanied by any number of bands. The sermon was obvious and unimpressive, but the King's reception outside was emphatically cordial.

October 27th.—The King's inspection of the Guards under my windows at Whitehall occupied the best part of the morning; but fortunately Haldane asked me to see him at Lincoln's Inn, and I was able to absent myself without disloyalty. Haldane is full of interest in the forthcoming hearing of the Liverpool Petition, and the progress of his scheme for the establishment of a Technological Institute in London, and is aware of the importance to the Government of the two movements in the direction of University expansion appearing to follow so closely upon the Act for placing all forms of educational activity under the control of one local authority. Indeed, the prominence he gave to this point of view led me to tell him the description I had of him from Mrs. Spender on Saturday night that politically he was a "lost soul," and he admitted that the result might contribute to the exclusion of his party from office; but the importance to the nation of making full use of the present opportunity outweighed all other considerations. He told me that before he left the Council in August last the King called him back to say how strongly he favoured the idea of a London "Charlottenburg" which his father would have created but for his premature death, and added that his public and private influence might be relied upon in furtherance of the scheme to the fullest possible extent.

With a view to getting the third week in December fixed for

the Liverpool hearing, I saw Lord Balfour and booked him, and then went to luncheon at Devonshire House to secure the Duke. He feared the Duchess might object, but, seeing the importance of getting Lord Rosebery, who was free that week, he was willing to try if I supported him, and accordingly broached the subject while we were at luncheon. Her Grace was very stiff and suspicious about it, but finally gave a grudging assent, and I really hope there is thus a probability of obtaining the strongest possible committee to deal with the subject.

October 28th.—Ammerdown. We are here for three days' shooting. A Georgian house in a situation the beauty of which is greatly enhanced by the sumptuous colouring of autumn. There are some fine examples of Romney, Gainsborough, and Hoppner on the walls commemorating the graces of Jolliffes and their connections long passed and gone, and a few curious books; but the interest of the place centres in the figure of its châtelaine. Indeed, few represent so happy a combination of inherited gifts: on one side the exotic grace of the Herveys blended with the stately tradition of the house of Manners, on the other the beauty of the Foresters allied with the force of character that once carried the name of Anson round the world.

November 4th.—The views of the Cabinet in dealing with the obstruction to the Education Bill have undergone a change. Last week the preferred alternative was to pass a resolution giving the Prime Minister power to move the closure at his discretion down to any point in the Bill, so as to give some elasticity to its application and meet the difficulty of having to treat all parts of it with the same summary despatch. The Chairman of Committees was unwilling to become a party to this method of procedure unless he was assured that the Speaker would acquiesce in its adoption on the report stage. This assurance has apparently not been forthcoming, which, in the present condition of the Speaker's nerves, is not surprising, and the Prime Minister will have to fall back on the closure by compartments, which will be slower in operation and has the disadvantage of being the method so vigorously denounced by Ministers when in opposition. It seems to be admitted on all hands that the Speaker's force and resolution are much impaired; Mrs. Gully's failing health has affected him very seriously, and his retirement, in the event of her malady having a fatal issue, is looked upon as inevitable.

November 6th.—Lionel Earle was over here from Dublin yesterday. He testifies to the energy and good-will with which Lord and Lady Dudley have begun their task. The magnificence of his outlay surpasses all precedent. He is prepared to spend £30,000 a year in excess of his salary, and intends to be as ubiquitous in Ireland as Lord Curzon has proved in India. The work of the Irish Department of Agriculture under the fostering

care of Horace Plunkett is working a great change in the outlook of the people. Indeed, if allowed unfettered development, it is likely to create a new heaven and a new earth for the Irish peasant. Already the depopulation of the country, which has been an economic fact of the first importance for more than fifty years, is arrested, and the thoughts of the people turned from politics to industrial activity. In the good sense, too, the influence of the Priesthood has been enlisted on behalf of a movement that has the whole weight of the Government in its support, and disposes of large pecuniary resources. Hence the energetic efforts of the parliamentary party to stir up political feeling in the wake of a new agrarian agitation. Fortunately the prestige of its leaders is not great, and the area of their influence comparatively small. It is indeed a sorry comment upon the achievements of statesmanship that the modest operations of the Congested Districts Board and the Department of Agriculture should have so far surpassed the effects of all Mr. Gladstone's heroic legislation. In Ireland, as elsewhere, the bankruptcy of modern Liberalism as a guiding and illuminating force is conspicuous.

November 12th.—We have at last collected a Committee to hear the Liverpool University Petition, and no exception can be taken to its composition: the Lord President, Lord Rosebery, Lord Balfour, Lord James, and Sir E. Fry will constitute as strong a Court as it was possible to create. The interest in the issue appears to grow. Lord Lister was with me this morning to read over a statement on the medical aspect, which he desired to put in, and affix his signature. He fears that the examinations of Victoria University will, as time goes on, assume more and more the character of those conducted by a mere Examining Board, and he strongly advocates the examination of medical students by the bodies responsible for their teaching, with, of course, proper securities for the maintenance of a high standard.

The nomination of Sheriffs took place as usual in the Lord Chief Justice's Court, under the presidency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As no other Privy Councillor attended, the Lord Chief Justice being on circuit, the proceedings of the Court of Appeal had to be arrested for the attendance of the Master of the Rolls, who was accompanied by Romer and Mathew. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proved very prompt in dealing with the excuses, and the proceedings did not last beyond forty minutes. He was evidently proud of his appearance in the robes of office, as Mrs. Ritchie had come up on purpose to look at him. He told me Lord Goschen was the first to wear them in 1887, as he refused to buy his predecessor's, which made Randolph Churchill very angry. "It is just the sort of thing one would have expected him to buy, old clo."

November 14th.—Haldane tells me his political friends are

beginning to see the mistake they made in committing themselves to the Nonconformist agitation against the Education Bill. The events of the last few weeks have materially modified their view of the situation, but the command of it has passed altogether to the Government, who will reap the advantage when the measure comes into operation. Haldane's advice to them was to support the principle of the measures and so use their strength as to obtain concessions which would have made the Bill to a large extent the Opposition's; instead of that they preferred for the immediate profit of a few by-elections to surrender the key of the position to the Government, who have handled it with great adroitness and turned what the Opposition expected to be their downfall into a source of credit.

November 15th.—The German Emperor does not appear to have broached any burning topics during his stay at Sandringham, but he has a way of flinging unconsidered trifles across a dinner-table and treating them afterwards as if they had the form of protocols. The difficulty with Russia over the occupation of Kiao-Chau arose in this way. After dinner at Copenhagen he dilated on the necessity of doing something to avenge the death of German missionaries, and quite incidentally suggested to the Czar the propriety of seizing some place on the littoral of Shantung. Later, when Russia, in alarm at the assertion of German power, raised a protest, she was reminded that the Czar had given his permission, which it was found impossible to deny.

November 19th.—Council at Windsor 5.30. As he was the only Privy Councillor to go down and was to remain there, the Lord President had scruples about a special, and we had a saloon tacked to the ordinary train at 4.35. Lords Clarendon, Suffield, and Sir D. Probyn completed the Council. The King gave the Lord President such a long audience that it was ten minutes to six before he came into the Council-room, and I quite despaired of catching the six train, particularly as after the business was concluded the King kept me talking for some minutes about the designs for a variety of colonial seals which had been submitted for approval, and appeared to excite a very lively interest. It was striking six when I got into the corridor, but I determined to make a dash for it, and, by dint of the speed with which the brougham traversed the distance to the station, and the courtesy of the railway authorities in keeping the train five minutes, I just managed to catch it.

The improvement in the aspect of things at Windsor is very marked, as all the commonplace furniture and pictures have been removed and objects of real value and excellence brought into prominence. The White Drawing-room in which the Council was held is a beautifully proportioned room, which sets off the suite of Louis XIV furniture with great advantage, and the

long gallery, which was always one of the most striking features in the castle, has had its beauty greatly enhanced by an intelligent and tasteful arrangement of its contents.

The King of Portugal appears to have made himself very popular. He is a very good shot, and an artist of no mean power. Suffield told me that, in emulation of the Chevalier Martino, who at dinner produced a little sketch on the back of a menu, he brought down to breakfast, after having gone to bed between two and three, a beautiful little pencil-sketch of the entrance to the Tagus, with the mountains and town in the background, and four or five ships of different rig off the Castle of Belem, the whole very delicately drawn and full of light and shade and atmosphere.

November 20th.—The Attorney-General for Jersey called to discuss the financial condition of the island. He agreed that the necessity of raising fresh revenue, which it is proposed to do by an Act increasing the import duties, offered a favourable opportunity for obtaining from the States some measure of reform, and suggested certain points on which we should insist. In his opinion such action on our part would be eagerly welcomed by the island at large, and the States would be compelled to yield to popular pressure in the matter. The Attorney-General struck me as a man of wider views and less impracticable temper than the usual run of island officials, besides being animated by a sincere desire to introduce order and economy into the administration.

November 27th.—We dined with the American Society in London to celebrate Thanksgiving Day, which we, in our ignorance of history, persist in associating with the War of Independence. Mr. Choate was in his best form and shone with particular lustre in succeeding to the pompous dulness with which his health was proposed. The dinner, which was held in the large room of the Hotel Cecil, was excellent and comprised several dishes peculiar to America, through which I was guided by Miss White, the daughter of the popular Secretary of the American Legation.

The House of Commons confirmed by a huge majority its adoption of the "Kenyon-Slaney" subsection ensuring to the managers a voice in the religious instruction of denominational schools. The author of the clause referred to letters of extreme violence, and even indecency, he had received from clergymen. Within the latter description was, I understand, an epistle in which the writer declared the amendment to be the greatest betrayal since the Crucifixion, and added that he would have preferred the Colonel should have seduced his wife rather than come to Parliament with such a proposal. It is in this hysterical, not to say frenzied, spirit that a large section of the clergy are disposed to meet a provision that commends itself to lay opinion, with a most striking unanimity. It is curious that a Bill in the

conduct of which the Government have exposed themselves to bitter attacks for their alleged surrender to ecclesiastical pressure should have been the occasion of a most remarkable demonstration of the little hold clerical influence has on the temper of the House of Commons.

December 2nd.—An unwonted incident occurred to-day. Hubert Jerningham called to see me in reference to obtaining at as early a date as possible an Order in Council permitting the interment of his wife's remains in a portion of a disused churchyard in Berwick. The last time I met him at a party at the Hayters' he introduced me to the said lady, whose death I remember to have noticed a few weeks ago. It seems strange that our acquaintance should have had the result of paving the way to her securing the place of sepulture she desired.

December 6th.—The debate on the second reading of the Education Bill in the House of Lords was not remarkable for the disclosure of any new points of view in handling the subject, or the manifestation of any oratorical gifts in unexpected quarters. Lord Rosebery's illuminants were of the nature of *feux d'artifice*, brilliant, yet leaving the darkness all the greater when they had burnt themselves out. The Bishop of Winchester argued the case with prudence from a not too ecclesiastical standpoint, but no one was at the pains to show that the solution now offered is the logical outcome of the relations of the State with the religious bodies ever since education became a matter of public concern. This is the bed-rock of the situation, and was in fact the unmentioned postulate of the Lord President's whole argument. The cost of education has grown out of all proportion to the estimates formed of its requirements fifty or even thirty years ago. Its intimate relation with industrial and commercial success is a discovery of yesterday; but the State, now that it has risen to a sense of its obligations in the matter, could hardly in common fairness have repudiated the liabilities towards distinctive religious teaching, which it accepted at the outset and has since done so much to encourage and even incorporate in a national system.

It appears that "The Times," in assuming its most magisterial air to rebuke the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for his language at Belfast, was altogether wrong. There was not a sentence in his speech which had not been laid before the Cabinet and received their *imprimatur*. We may indeed be on the eve of a new departure. The Prime Minister may effect a complete change in the attitude of the Irish people to English parties.

December 11th.—The Committee stage of the Education Bill in the House of Lords has not been productive of many memorable incidents; but Lord Rosebery was severely criticised by Lord Goschen for his advice to the representatives of Nonconformity to rally against the payment of rates.

A singular episode marked the relations of the Government towards the Episcopate, which, though the form of it was unfortunate, should go far to dissipate the idea that the two have been acting in concert. An amendment moved by the Duke of Northumberland, to give it a lay flavour, providing that the Bishop's consent should be requisite to the withdrawal from any clergyman of the right to give religious instruction, was met by the Duke of Devonshire with the declaration that the Government might be disposed to view it with some favour if they obtained a declaration from the Bishops that they would use their power to prevent a clergyman giving religious instruction which was unpalatable to his parishioners. The Bishop of Winchester gave the pledge in the most unqualified terms on behalf of his brethren, and was followed in the same sense by the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, and others. The Duke subsequently rose and said that their efforts to restrain the clergy having hitherto proved so futile, he could not attach any importance to their pledges—an intimation which the Bench accepted with Christian meekness, and the incident was at an end.

Londonderry's incursions into the debate were marked by a singular episode. He gaily met one amendment with an answer that was intended for another, and left the House in a state of complete obfuscation. However, he is so pleasant, and animated with such an obvious desire to do his duty as the Minister in charge of the department, that no one takes him to task. Hugh Cecil, whom I met at the Hayters' last night and had some conversation with after dinner, does not believe in the permanence of the present settlement. Though there may be many temporary halting-places, he does not see any final solution that is not either frankly secular or denominational; but he agreed that the charge brought against the present Bill, as inconsistent with the compromise of 1870, was utterly invalid. It is in effect the outcome of a natural development.

The Hayters' dinner was a very pleasant one, consisting among others of Lady Galloway, the Bryces, Horners, Mackenzie Wallace, St. John Brodrick, Lady Jeune, and Miss Stanley.

December 12th.—The States of Jersey are in revolt against the demands of the War Office. Their three last communications have shown a progressive diminution in the substance of what they are prepared to grant. An investigation of the history of the negotiations displays War Office methods at their worst. It is curious to note how the change from Lord Lansdowne to his successor has affected their progress. If the former had remained another year in Pall Mall everything that he asked for would have been granted a year ago; but his withdrawal synchronising with the appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of General Abadie, who is a very peremptory type of soldier, has had most unhappy

results. The point at issue is whether there shall be any compulsory continuous training for the Militia. By asking for too many men the War Office have provoked the States to say that such training shall be left to volunteers. There is some chance of a compromise, but, if the island is obdurate, the alternative lies between withdrawing the garrison, declining to renew the *impôt* from which nine-tenths of the revenue is derived, or threatening to cede the island to France!

December 16*th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace 3 p.m. for the swearing in of the new Privy Councillors and the prorogation. The King's Speech passed through several crises, and was not, as a matter of fact, approved in the exact form in which it was ultimately delivered. The first draft was laid before His Majesty at Gopsall, who asked for the introduction of a kind of cirenicon on the subject of the Education Act. Pious aspirations for the laying aside of controversial bitterness in working an Act which has excited fierce passions are all very well, but it is doubtful whether they have much effect. The Lord President brought from the Cabinet, which had only just broken up, nothing but his own copy with certain pencil emendations and certain omissions, which, on referring to Sandars, were subsequently supplied.

December 17*th.*—On seeing the Lord Chancellor this morning, I apologised for the somewhat slovenly document which I had been obliged to send him. He replied that it was his habit on those occasions to receive two copies of the King's Speech, one from the Lord President and another from the Prime Minister, and his experience was that they very rarely agreed; but he added that it mattered little, as the Press derived their information from another copy, which generally differed from either.

The Hearing of the Liverpool University Petition commenced before the Lord President, Lord Rosebery, Lord Balfour, Lord James, and Sir E. Fry. The opening of Alfred Lyttelton was prolix and laboured, but the interest created in the case was very great. Matters improved when Haldane was under examination, and it is a pity that Counsel had not shortened his own remarks and relied more on what he could extract from his principal witness.

December 18*th.*—The progress of the Enquiry was marked by a very long harangue from Cripps, who, commencing before luncheon, was a long way from his conclusion when the Court rose. Wearing that strange diagonal smile which gives him the appearance of an angel that has eaten sour grapes, he wore away the patience of the tribunal and disappointed his own side. Acland expressed to me his discontent, and I admitted that the lengths to which Counsel had gone militated against proper use being made of expert witnesses. Lord Ripon was in the Court the whole day, and was asked to luncheon by the Lord President, which

was unfortunate, as it prevented the Court using the interval to ventilate their views and augmented the number of feeders at a moment when, through some mistake of the kitchen, inadequate supplies had been sent up. On apologising to Lord Rosebery for the badness of the meal, he was fain to believe that it was the plain living that naturally went with high thinking. Before the proceedings began he illustrated the jealousy between Liverpool and Manchester by a reference to Glasgow and Edinburgh, who he said would not agree even to enter the Kingdom of Heaven together.

Lord Balfour and Sir E. Fry have proved very valuable members of the tribunal, the points made in cross-examination having contributed much to elucidate the issue ; still, the want of some illuminating principle in the conduct of the Enquiry led me to address a Memorandum to the Lord President, suggesting the propriety of Counsel relegating themselves to the background and assigning a more prominent part to their witnesses.

December 19th.—On the Court meeting, the Lord President read my Memo. to his colleagues, who expressed their agreement but feared the susceptibilities of Counsel might impose some obstacle. I pointed out, however, that examination and cross-examination in a case of the kind offered Counsel much better opportunities for distinguishing themselves, as what they had seen both of Alfred Lyttelton and Balfour Brown could easily convince them. In the result Mr. Fitzgerald, in dealing with his witnesses, adopted the method I had recommended, and the case proceeded on much more rapid and instructive lines. Lord Ripon gave his evidence like a wild animal at bay, alternately roaring a reply to his Counsel and casting a defiant glance at the Court ; but it was left to Acland to do most damage to his cause. With his habit of pontifical utterance on all matters of education, the experience of being cornered by mere lawyers on an educational topic was the reverse of pleasant, and he fairly lost his temper when Cohen and A. Lyttelton, one after the other, put him hopelessly in the cart.

When the Court adjourned, Lord Rosebery sarcastically congratulated him on the High Toryism of his views.

At luncheon Lord Balfour asked Lord Rosebery whether Acland had learnt his views in his school, when with the most enigmatic smile he replied, " Our association was like that of the three colleges whose federal ties we are asked to dissolve."

December 20th.—I have prepared a draft report for the consideration of the Court, which gives expression to their general accord with the aims of the petitions, shaped as it is by a conviction that the issues are of wider importance than the interests of one or two local Universities. However, as long as the prin-

ciple of expansion, which has been contended for, is recognised, the details of the experiment can be worked out in a spirit of deliberation and compromise.

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January 13th.—The Foreign Office were, it appears, quite unprepared for the manifestations of public discontent at our association with Germany in Venezuela. I told Sanderson it surprised me they should be, as, though their business lay abroad, the discovery of the sentiment of their countrymen did not lie altogether outside it, and no one who had been at pains to study English feeling could have been unaware of the resentment entertained towards Germany. His reply that it is a feeling which it is the duty of responsible persons in this country to remove is not to the point, as, however desirable it may be that Great Britain and Germany should act cordially together, any premature step in such a direction is likely to postpone the development of mutual esteem and therefore prove detrimental to the policy it is designed to promote. The real answer, I believe, is that, far from exposing our relations with the United States to any strain, our co-operation with Germany has been accepted by them as a security against aggression by that power of a nature that might bring the Monroe doctrine to the front, and that we have therefore placed them as well as Germany under an obligation, and to that extent achieved no small diplomatic result.

January 17th.—Lord Rosebery's speech at Plymouth has the advantage of proceeding from the only critic of the administration who has directed the English Foreign Office; but it is a pity that so great a name should be invoked in support of an erroneous reading of recent events; nor is it altogether fair to hold the Secretary of State responsible for the special embassy to Persia which has arisen out of a change in the King's original intention to withhold the Garter, as an Order of Christian chivalry, from a Mohammedan.

February 6th.—I settled with the Duke this evening to circulate a draft report to the members of the Liverpool University Committee granting the prayer of the petitioners, subject to certain conditions, and with an expression of opinion that will discourage ill-considered applications. Lord Balfour, who will unfortunately be away when we meet on Tuesday, approves the draft, and I think Lord Rosebery is of the same mind, which only leaves the legal member James, and Fry to deal with. The violence of the line taken by Lord Ripon and Acland has had a very marked effect on Lord Rosebery's attitude towards the question; as the Duke says, "his principal object has been to make them look ridiculous." After the conclusion of their evidence he flung a

piece of paper over to the Duke, on which was written, "Ripon and Acland were the two most taciturn members of my Cabinet, so now you understand what I suffered."

February 7th.—An amusing incident happened after luncheon at the Travellers'. On leaving the dining-room I found the Duke of Devonshire occupying one settee in the corridor and Percy opposite him. I sat down next the Duke and talked to him for some little while, and then made some remark to Percy relative to the congratulatory dinner recently given him by his constituents. A minute or two afterwards he got up and left the Club, upon which the Duke asked me who it was I had been talking to. "Really, Duke," I said, "you ought to know your own colleagues by sight," and told him who it was. "Well," he replied, "I had a sort of dim notion it might be Percy." He then asked if he was not a very good speaker, and went on to talk of the speech made by Cranborne a few days ago on the Venezuelan question. He mentioned, however, on the authority of Lord Lansdowne, that in the office itself Cranborne's work was very efficient.

February 10th.—The Committee of the Privy Council, to which the Liverpool and Manchester University petitions were referred, met to-day to consider, and if possible settle, a report. The draft circulated was accepted without substantial alteration, but with the addition of a paragraph proposed by Sir E. Fry, expressly reserving to the King, in the exercise of his visitorial authority, a power of inspection, and the report stands for submission to His Majesty at the next Council. Before we began business Lord James made some very strong remarks on the "Grenadier scandal," and commented on the insensibility displayed to considerations of abstract justice. The Duke was very cautious, and would only say that Brodrick was rather inclined to complain of Roberts's precipitancy in the early stages of matters relating to discipline, in regard to which he of course looked to the Secretary of State to see him through in the event of a row.

February 11th.—The Committee of Defence met this morning in its reconstituted shape: the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, the First Sea Lord, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Heads of the Naval and Military Intelligence Departments as Joint Secretaries and Tyrrell of the Foreign Office as clerk to keep the minutes. The disappearance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the deliberations of the Committee is open to criticism, on the ground that it removes him from contact with the departmental experts, on whose recommendation a specific outlay may be contemplated; on the other hand, the Committee are free to arrive at decisions on questions of policy without being hampered unduly by financial considerations, which will of course have due weight given them

when the Cabinet is asked to confirm the decisions of the Committee.

Lord Roberts arrived some fifteen minutes before the time appointed for the conference, and I had thus some opportunity of discussing a few of the topics of the day with him. He attributed the recent letters in "The Times" on the "Military Problem" to civilian authorship, probably that of some journalist who had been at the front in the late war, as the lessons of that campaign were the text of most of the recommendations made. Lord Roberts thought highly of the writer's insistence upon the creation of a military staff to deal with questions of warlike policy, in the sense suggested by the Hartington Commission, and warmly approved the change in the organisation of the Defence Committee as a step to the adaptation of our military and naval system to a theory *raisonné* of the actual conditions under which it was to be applied. His attitude towards the "affair" is that of a man who is confident that he has an irresistible case; and I am told that Stanley, on his return a day or two ago with a perfectly open mind, got up from the perusal of the official papers satisfied that the position of the War Office could not be stronger.

February 12*th*.—The publication of Bromley-Davenport's reply to Admiral Cochrane has had the curious effect of bringing both sides into absolute accord on the main point at issue: the defence of the C.O. is that he knew nothing of what was going on; but that is the complaint of the military authorities, and the ground of their motive in removing him from his command. The extent to which the senior officers were in ignorance is confirmed by Noel Cory, who, in conversation with my wife this morning, said that, though acting as Second-in-Command, he had not the least idea that anything was wrong. He has now had it out with the officer concerned, being, like any right-minded man, hideously shocked at the proceedings for which the culprit was mainly responsible, and had made him understand that he is a disgrace to the regiment.

February 16*th*.—Council at Buckingham Palace. The King's Speech was not delivered to me till just as I was leaving the office, which evoked from the Duke of Devonshire the remark that Sandars and those about him were apt to forget two things: first, that there was a House of Lords, and second that there was a King. The Archbishop of Canterbury told me that there was no immediate prospect of filling the see of Winchester: it was impossible, in the state of public feeling, to translate the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of Oxford had just refused the appointment, the responsibility of Farnham Castle being too great for a widower with a family of five children. The burden of such a residence upon a Bishop without private means must be very considerable; but, for all that, the severance of its con-

nection with the sec would be a matter of profound regret, as the manor was granted to St. Swithin by the father of King Alfred, and the original castle, of which much is still extant, was built by Odo, brother of King Stephen.

In returning the speech to the Prime Minister, the Duke asked me to enquire of Sandars whether there was any idea of sending a copy to Lord Rosebery, who he believed had a small dinner of his Liberal Leaguers. This notion he scouted, and asked whether it was proposed that one should be sent to Redmond; but Redmond has not been Prime Minister, nor does he entertain his followers on the eve of the meeting of Parliament: it would, however, have been an astute move to have recognised Lord Rosebery's leadership, as an ex-P.M., of a separate section of the Opposition by some informal transmission of the speech to him and his friends. The party at Devonshire House was brilliant and animated, and the character of the gathering lent no colour to the view that favours the manifestation of disintegrating tendencies among Ministerialists. I made the acquaintance of Count Benckendorff, the new Russian Ambassador, a man of striking personality and most courteous manners.

February 17th.—The King opened Parliament with the usual state ceremonies, to which people are becoming so accustomed that they excite little interest. The beauty of the weather encouraged the people to assemble, but down Whitehall they were nowhere more than two deep, and the cheering was consequently very thin. The speeches in the House of Lords were very few. The mover and seconder of the Address occupied ten minutes apiece; Lord Spencer took more than an hour over his reflections, and the Duke of Devonshire was as long, but very solid.

February 18th.—I am very much gratified by the reception which the decision on the Liverpool University has met with; Liverpool and Manchester have testified their satisfaction in a most outspoken manner, and have shown no impatience at the qualifications with which the judgment in their favour is attended. On the other hand, the leading men in Leeds have recognised the desire of the Committee to treat them with every consideration, and appear ready to adapt themselves to the situation. Lord Allerton even went so far as to say that he did not see how the Committee could have come to any other decision. Haldane and Hopkinson[1] have written me very flattering letters of congratulation. I can, at any rate, claim to have succeeded so far as the two main objects for which I have striven are concerned: first, to get the subject dealt with by a Committee of the Privy Council instead of a Royal Commission, and secondly, to obtain from that Committee a decision in favour of University

[1] Sir Alfred Hopkinson, Principal of Owens College and Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University.

development on modern lines, in compliance with the exigencies of commerce and industry.

February 19th.—Haldane supplied me this morning with the name of the author of "The Times" articles on the Military Problem, who turns out to be the principal editor of their History of the War in South Africa, viz. Amery, who had some experience as war correspondent during the campaign: a fact which accounts for his approach to the problem almost exclusively from the lessons of that war, which are obviously not of universal application. The interest in military matters is for the present centred in the outcome of the debate which is to be raised on the subject next Monday in the form of an Amendment to the Address, of which Ernest Beckett is the spokesman. Haldane disclaimed any opposition to the Government as its object, which was rather the consolidation of opinion in and out of the Government in condemnation of the idea that War Office policy should be independent of a *jugement raisonné* on the main lines of national defence. He hoped that the change in the constitution of the Defence Committee would assist to bring this about, as a proper consideration of the functions of the Navy must convince the Committee, and through them the Cabinet, that the scheme identified with the Secretary of State's name was wrong in principle and burdensome in detail. I have reason to think the Duke of Devonshire has a growing dislike to it, and I was glad to be reminded of the contents of the Blue Book issued after the Conference with the Colonial Premiers, wherein in immediate juxtaposition there is a memorandum of Selborne and a speech of the Secretary for War embodying wholly irreconcilable theories of national defence. These I have taken care should be shown to the Duke, and I cannot but think his strong judgment will awake to the necessities of the case.

The great object of certain Liberals is to keep Campbell-Bannerman from speaking on Ernest Beckett's motion, as, if he does, a purely party character will be given to the discussion. Military reformers have not forgotten his inept contribution to the Report of the Hartington Commission, wherein he dissented from his colleagues' recommendation in favour of the creation of a military staff specially concerned with the problems of war, on the score that the administration would thereby be tempted to test the soundness of its conclusions by embarking on needless campaigns, a dictum upon which the whole of his own action at the War Office was based.

February 25th.—The debate on the organisation of the Army took a different turn from that anticipated by some, at any rate, of its promoters, and assumed the character of an acrimonious attack upon the Secretary of State. Ernest Beckett almost wept over the sacrifice of a twenty years' friendship on the altar of

patriotic duty, and all the *meute* of disappointed ambition and unappreciated talent followed him full cry. So hostile, indeed, was the tone of the Government's own supporters and so overdone was the put-up passion of the attack, that it rallied the Irish to the side of Ministers and gave them the biggest majority of the Session. It was another demonstration of the futility of the methods adopted by discontented politicians to gratify private resentments: facts and figures which, if presented in a spirit of reasonable criticism, might have seriously shaken the ministerial position, were subordinated to the violence of personal recrimination, and, from the point of view of public interest, the whole enterprise may be said to have miscarried disastrously. The question is largely one of nomenclature, and if the scheme had been propounded as an incident of decentralisation and the term "administrative districts" been employed, instead of the pompous appellation *corps d'armée*, I don't believe it would have excited one half the criticism.

February 27th.—We had an interesting conference in my room on the means by which joint action is to be secured in the working of the new Universities. Hopkinson represented Manchester and was accompanied by Mr. Alsop of Liverpool. Haldane attended as *amicus curiæ*, and Bruce of the Secondary Education section at South Kensington. In the result considerable progress was made towards a substantial concordat on the point of discussion, and the first-named agreed to make my suggestions the basis of a consultation which is to take place a fortnight hence between delegates from the late constituents of Victoria University.

March 3rd.—The Venezuela debate in the House of Lords was very short and brought out nothing new. Lord Rosebery's speech was in a vein of rather reckless persiflage. He administered a stinging castigation to George Hamilton for his Bradford speech, and recommended the Government to confine him for the future to Ealing. His own comments, however, on our relations with America were conceived in no very serious spirit: if, as he suggested, our communications with that Power were capable of being carried on by "winks," surely no stronger proof could be adduced of the strength and intimacy of the confidence subsisting between the two. Lord Lansdowne, of course, was precluded from making the true defence of his conduct, that the United States looked to us to co-operate with Germany in order to secure them from the risks attaching to isolated action on the part of the German naval authorities.

March 6th.—The Opposition in both Houses gave yesterday a most lamentable display of ineptitude. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in the Commons moved the adjournment of the House in order to interrupt the discussion of the Prime Minister's motion relating to the Defence Committee, and was promptly thrown

over by his followers, the motion being negatived without a division. Carrington in the Lords introduced a vote of censure on the military policy of the Government in a speech which did not touch the subject-matter of the motion, though full of breezy rhetoric, and a debate which had been advertised to last for two nights, collapsed at nine. Lord Rosebery sensibly refused to incur the reproach of mixing himself up with such a fiasco, and at seven o'clock Lord Spencer capitulated by sending over to Ministers a request to put up someone to whom he could reply and so wind up the business.

Hardwicke, who opened the case for the Government, disappointed expectations: he was inaudible and ineffective, possibly because being prepared for a formidable attack, he felt unable to use the material at his command against one so feeble, and did not know how to adjust himself to the altered condition of the debate. Selborne, on the other hand, made a very successful defence.

I was with the Duke at Devonshire House this morning for some time: he was very depressed at last night's collapse, and spoke most gloomily about the decaying reputation of the House of Lords, as shown by its inability to keep a first-class debate going for more than three hours—a debate too that was unmarked by any speech above mediocrity.

March 7th.—The Duke's dinner last night for settling the Roll of Sheriffs was a very small one, only six members of the Cabinet attended, and Clarendon, Hope, and myself made the number up to nine. Lord Balfour arrived in levée dress, a singular lapse of memory after having been at many similar dinners. However, his bashfulness, which on entering the room was conspicuous, soon wore off. George Hamilton, still smarting from Lord Rosebery's thrusts, spoke of him with much acrimony. St. John Brodrick was the topic of much conversation. George Hamilton said, in the whole course of his parliamentary experience, now covering a period of nearly thirty-eight years, he never knew a Minister get up to make a statement in an atmosphere of such pronounced hostility, and was quite at a loss to find a reason to account for it.

After dinner the Duke was induced to sit down at a pianola and grind out with his feet a frivolous dance tune, which he did to the end with the persistence which distinguishes his pursuit of everything he undertakes. Altogether it was a very pleasant and delightfully informal evening, which certainly showed the relations of His Majesty's Ministers among themselves at their best.

March 11th.—I had a luncheon party at Willis's Club, which was arranged primarily to give Lady Hylton an opportunity of meeting Haldane. The rest of the party were my sister Esmé

Curzon, Ulrica Duncombe, Dosia Bagot, Redesdale, and Hylton. Haldane, writing to me in the evening on another subject, said: "I thought the luncheon and the company to-day of the best quality"—and there is no doubt he is a judge of both.

March 18th.—The defeats of the Government at Woolwich and Rye have had a salutary effect on the *intransigeance* of the ministerial malcontents: their design has received a rude shock by the proof these elections afford that forces have been aroused that it may take stronger men to divert into the desired channels. Chamberlain is, I understand, in favour of an early dissolution, should their intrigues go on; and there is no doubt such a step would compel a crystallisation of opinion on either side, which would make the future arrangement of party a little less obscure.

March 21st.—The Irish Land Bill is now definitely settled. George Wyndham has had to drop a provision, for which Sir A. Macdonnell was responsible, to give local authorities in Ireland power to buy land on the security of the rates, but enough remains to offer sufficient food for controversy. The Bill grapples with the problem on the most comprehensive lines; indeed, it cannot but work out as a scheme of compulsory purchase, for the inducements it offers both parties to come in are great. The plan is ingenious and plausible, and so constructed as to narrow the front open to criticism. The design is liberal to the tenant by virtue of the immediate reduction he enjoys, and liberal to the landlord by the special inducements which the scheme of *bonus* offers to the less well endowed.

March 24th.—There are indications that the Rosebery group are frightened by the results of the last two elections, and fear the dissolution of the Government before they have made their own position secure to the disadvantage of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. At least, that is the impression left on my mind by a conversation this morning, and there will, I think, be no regret on the part of Lord Rosebery if the Ministerialists hold the Chertsey seat. Without going so far as to say Mr. Perks's manifesto was dictated from Berkeley Square, I don't believe that energetic gentleman would have taken such a decisive step if he had supposed it would be distasteful in that quarter. Lord Rosebery's speech in the House of Lords this evening, though couched in a vein of warning to the Government on the financial aspects of their military policy, reserved his sharpest thrust for his late colleagues, and was evidently more interested in challenging their disagreement than in making any serious breach in the ministerial defences.

March 25th.—I presided at a general meeting of the Travellers' Club, at which it was agreed by 34 to 4 to take in one-third of the central court so as to improve the smoking accommodation on the ground-floor. The threatened opposition did not come

off, though no effort had been made on the part of the Committee to canvass the Club. I induced the Duke of Devonshire to come down, and I think his presence had a considerable influence in keeping the malcontents quiet.

March 28th.—A Council was held to-day to deal with some Admiralty business before the new financial year. Anticipating that there might be questions asked which the First Lord of the Admiralty could alone answer, I had suggested to Selborne the propriety of his attendance; but, as he was reluctant to come and assured me that the King had the matter thoroughly explained to him, I let the thing drop. I had hardly reached Buckingham Palace when Knollys met me and said the King would not have one of the proposals. As soon as the Duke arrived he and I were sent for by the King, who stated his objections with great energy, and evidently believed that his assent was being asked to more than he had approved; indeed he said in almost as many words that they were trying to steal a march upon him. Unfortunately Fullerton, who had been called in as the only sailor handy, and who views the new system of organisation with great dislike, used language which confirmed the King's suspicions, and the full text of the Memorial, when submitted to him, did not tend to allay them. Finally I suggested to His Majesty that, as I could not say whether the text was or was not in accordance with the assurance he had received, Lord Selborne had better be sent for, and I left the room in order to summon him by telephone. He was luckily at the Admiralty, and arrived in about a quarter of an hour. In the course of a few minutes' conversation he convinced the King that his apprehensions had been unnecessarily excited, and that the provisions of the Memorial were such as he had approved. The storm then subsided, and His Majesty expressed his regret that he had troubled him.

April 2nd.—The London Water Board met for the first time in the Council Chamber of the Privy Council; I took the chair at Walter Long's invitation:

"Local Government Board,
"Whitehall, S.W.

"My dear FitzRoy,

"I spoke to the Duke to-day about a matter on which I am sending him an official letter, and in regard to it I beg to solicit your kind and friendly offices. The Water Board must hold their first meeting; I have to make the arrangements. If we could have the Council-chamber, and if you would consent to let me nominate you as the official Chairman, the harmonious and successful result of the first assembly would be assured. Your duties would be purely formal, and would not last half an

hour. Do let me beg for your very kind assistance. We could fix any day.

"Yours sincerely,

"Walter H. Long.

"The day would not be before April 2nd.—W. H. L."

7.ii.03.

"11 Ennismore Gardens,
"Prince's Gate, S.W.

"My dear FitzRoy,

"It is indeed good of you, and I am most grateful. I really believe your kind co-operation will have a very far-reaching effect.

"Yours sincerely,

"Walter H. Long."

10.ii.03.

I gave the Board a short address of welcome, in which I expressed the hope that the judicial atmosphere in which the fabric of the chamber was steeped might penetrate their deliberations, a sentiment which was loudly cheered, but, as the sequel proved, had very little effect. Walter Long had hoped that they might have asked me to act as temporary chairman until the election of a permanent one, and this I should have been prepared to do if they could have proceeded to the definite election during the course of the afternoon; but the question of paying their officers, on which the Board appeared to be sharply divided, precluded such an arrangement, and I was not sorry to vacate the chair in favour of Sir J. T. Ritchie, a brother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was elected temporary chairman without opposition. It proved a most unfortunate choice, as forty minutes were wasted over a wrangle on a point of form, which a little firmness might have stopped. Thence ensued a carnival of disorder which the chairman made no effort to quell, permitting several persons to rise to order together, and even allowing the wisdom of his own rulings to be disputed. The old hands on the Board, most of them representing the Progressive majority on the London County Council, realising his impotence, abused the forms of debate and introduced a spirit of broad farce into the proceedings. Some little method was given to the discussion by a proposal to appoint a Committee to consider certain preliminary matters, but the constitution of the Committee gave rise to another party wrangle, to which one member made a remarkable contribution, protesting against what he called "sexual" considerations being allowed to enter into its composition. Sandhurst nearly fell off his seat with laughter. At the end of the sitting I was accorded a vote of thanks, in reply to which I had

to tell them plainly that they could not enjoy the use of the room for an adjourned meeting, so much time having been wasted at this.

April 3rd.—The Army Expenditure Committee of the Cabinet met in the Lord President's room, at the deliberations of which Ian Hamilton, as Quartermaster-General, assisted. Chamberlain very wisely has been put upon the Committee, and set himself to tackle St. John Brodrick's facts and figures with great vigour, and, as some thought, with no little acrimony.

April 4th.—I had luncheon with the Duke at Devonshire House, and in a long conversation afterwards went into the present aspects of the university problem in the North of England. The points at issue are the measure of liberty to be allowed to independent Universities in framing courses for degrees, and the position to be assigned to Sheffield in the contemplated arrangement for Yorkshire, on which I have been in communication with Lord Ripon and the Duke of Norfolk.

April 7th.—Luncheon with Haldane in the House of Commons previous to a conference with Hopkinson and Alsop of Liverpool relating to the points of difference between them. The first-named is, I think, unduly timid and inclined to shrink from the consequences involved in the establishment of separate Universities in Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds. Degree courses, except perhaps in regard to medicine, cannot be the subject of inter-university interference without impairing the responsibility of independent organisations, and those who wish to restrict freedom in this respect unconsciously favour the view that the tendency of university competition is to lower rather than raise the standard of degrees. Later, I received a deputation from Sheffield, to whom I spoke very directly on the imprudence of pressing prematurely for a separate University with its centre in that town, and urged them to contribute to the creation of a Yorkshire institution worthy of the name.

Hayes Fisher announced his resignation in the House of Commons owing to the strictures passed by Mr. Justice Buckley on his connection with company promoting. He completely cleared himself from any suspicion of misconduct, and carried the House with him in a description of the efforts he had made to secure that no one should be a loser on his account. His attitude was a very proper one, but a few days since he had entirely failed to realise that his continuance as Secretary to the Treasury would in the circumstances be a source of weakness to the Government, and the fact had to be intimated to him with some directness, after special consideration by Cabinet called *ad hoc*.

April 8th.—The provisions of the Education Bill for London have elicited precisely the kind of criticism expected. Anson's speech was not judicious in that he gave such prominence to the

abolition of the London School Board as to suggest that it was the main object of the Bill, instead of treating it as a regrettable incident of a larger issue.

April 14th.—The appointment of Arthur Elliot to the Treasury is well considered. His personal and parliamentary qualifications are undeniable, and his selection at this moment is a very proper reminder to intriguers and malcontents on the ministerial side that the Government is still strong enough to resist the temptation to buy loyalty by place. Arthur Elliot's criticism has always been that of a fair-minded political thinker, and never without the cautious exercise of an independent judgment such as befitted the director of a great literary review.

April 22nd.—Sandars tells me he is quite content with the reception of the London Education Bill. Apparently criticism has only touched machinery ; indeed, the whole Bill is nothing but machinery, and it can therefore be turned inside out to meet pressure from whatever side it may come.

April 23rd.—Mr. Ritchie's first Budget has strengthened his reputation for courage and foresight. The reduction of the income tax by 4*d.* was a surprise, but the fear of its becoming stereotyped at 1*s.* led the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make an heroic effort to touch a lower figure, which he was able to do, while at the same time providing for a substantial reduction in the National Debt and surrendering the most unpopular, if the least felt, of indirect taxes. I had an interesting conversation with the Duke of Devonshire on the present aspects of Higher Education in the old Universities. He is being pressed to make another appeal for funds to enable the University of Cambridge to bring itself up to modern requirements ; but the failure of the last attempt has convinced him that the movement must begin from within. The University itself must show a spirit of adaptation and reconstruction, the collegiate system must undergo large modifications, both in the appropriation of revenue and the direction of studies, before the University can make good its claim on outside assistance. These changes were hardly likely to be made except under the influence of external pressure. Looking to the time that had elapsed since the last University Commission, and the revolutionary ideas which have since permeated every department of higher education, it appeared to me impossible to seek for the requisite motive force except through the medium of another Commission, charged with even wider powers and animated with an ideal of university work as œcumenical as the connotation of the word.

I dined with the Hyltons, Ailwyn Fellowes and his wife being all the party.

April 24th.—The decision of the Government not to countenance the Bagdad Railway is wise, and the Cabinet had no difficulty in

arriving at it. The idea that Lord Lansdowne was hampered by any pledges to the German Emperor is, of course, absurd. The scheme was as much financial as political, though no doubt the two elements were inextricably interwoven. On the financial aspect the opinions of Sir E. Cassel and Lord Revelstoke were fatal to any participation of British credit in such an enterprise, and we shall continue to enjoy a perfectly free hand in the approaches to the Persian Gulf.

April 28th.—Mr. Hanbury's death closes a strenuous career, though it is not easy to recognise the qualities of the real man in the obituary notices that the event has called forth. Ambitious and intriguing, without much scruple, and possessed of a robust faith in his own methods that passed for sincerity of aim, he acquired a reputation in the opinion of outsiders which his colleagues and subordinates would have hesitated to concede. Thus his industry, which to-day so largely figures in newspaper eulogies, rested on nothing more substantial than his resolve to utilise every opportunity for posing as an ideal minister and parliamentarian, and his efforts met with no small measure of success. During his tenure of office at the Treasury his laziness was the theme of constant complaint within its walls, but in Parliament and on the platform he was at the pains to produce the impression of a most indefatigable administrator. The Board of Agriculture lent itself to the development of his peculiar idiosyncrasies ; with little taste for departmental business, his speeches to Farmers' Clubs and Chambers of Agriculture won for him just the kind of credit he enjoyed.

May 2nd.—The Cabinet Committee on War Office expenditure met again at the Privy Council Office. I understand Mr. Chamberlain, supported by the opinion of Lord Milner, is strongly in favour of the maintenance of one *Corps d'Armée* at the Cape, an arrangement by which it is argued that, without any formal surrender of the outline of St. John Brodrick's scheme, a reduction of some 25,000 men in the Home Garrison might at once be effected. Lord Milner views the scheme with great favour, as affording the best security for the abandonment of any dream of revenge that may still linger in the minds of the disaffected. Great as is the relative cost, at least for the present, of maintaining troops in South Africa, it is pointed out that, as a large garrison for some time to come is essential, means may thus be found for maintaining it as part of, and not in addition to, the forces required for the general defence of the Empire, and in this way a large saving on the general charge can be effected. Nor has the relation of this plan to the alleged deficiency in the defensive resources of India been overlooked.

For some time past the Government of India have been trying to obtain from the Home Government a declaration that India

is imperfectly equipped for defence ; but the Defence Committee, under the direction of the Duke, have declined to take upon themselves a responsibility which properly belongs to the Viceroy in Council. In a very able State Paper the Duke has laid down that India ought not to be left in any uncertainty, first as to the nature and extent of the assistance upon which she may rely in making her plans in case of war, and, secondly, whether, if her defensive resources are inadequate, it is the Indian Government or the Home Government that should be expected to provide the required addition of strength. Nor is he in any doubt as to the answer that should be returned, and the influence that the data upon which they are based should exercise upon the revision of the military system of Great Britain. The Indian Government must, he thinks, decide whether the present force in India is sufficient for the defence of the frontiers in the early stages of a war, or, if not, arrange for its increase. The responsibility of the Imperial Government comes in at a subsequent stage, and in this regard the maintenance of a large body of troops within easy distance of India becomes of great moment, and the policy of a large South African garrison attains Imperial importance in its most vital aspect.

It is no inapt illustration of the War Office's carelessness in minor matters that, upon a point to be raised by the Duke of Bedford, they sent the Duke of Devonshire a print of the regulations concerned : this was four years old, and *has been the subject of a revise as late as last year.* Sir W. Nicholson, the Head of the Intelligence Department, told me that, though our treaty arrangements with Japan might involve the closest military co-operation with that Power, there was hardly a single officer in the British Army conversant with the Japanese language, and he had great doubts whether the Treasury would sanction the steps by which they proposed to remedy such a state of things. He is a brusque soldier of an unconventional type, and I should think one who looks far ahead, and is full of reforming energy.

May 4th.—Haldane came to see me about a clause I had drafted for insertion in the Charters of Liverpool and Manchester Universities, providing against science degrees being given for purely technological attainments. The suggestion came from Sir W. Turner,[1] and I was glad to hear Haldane accept it with eagerness.

An amusing story comes from Oxford relating to the admission of the Principal of Mansfield College to a Doctor's Degree. It appears that it was first proposed to give him the Doctorate of Divinity, to which his theological writings, of great breadth and insight, and notably his " Philosophy of the Christian Religion,"

[1] Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh and President of the General Medical Council.

entitled him; but, on his works being submitted to the authorities of the Theological Faculty, the Bishop of Oxford was moved to tears by their unorthodoxy, and prayed that the degree of D.D. might still be associated with undiluted Anglicanism. In the result he was given the Doctorate of Letters. So does Oxford still cling to the championship of lost causes.

May 6th.—I had some conversation with the Duke on various subjects, and got him to put forward several references, in which I had made important recommendations. It is one of the many gratifying features of my official relations with him, that a few minutes' conversation tends to remove all difficulties in the way of departmental action.

A persistent applicant for a peerage put himself in a very false position by recalling some conversation in which he alleged that he had been promised the distinction on withdrawing his candidature for a certain seat in Parliament, and complained of "breach of faith." No charge could have been better calculated to arouse the Duke's wrath, who, I understand, wrote denying the allegation and reminding him that such an arrangement would have been a corrupt bargain of which he trusted neither of them was capable.

May 12th.—It appears as if Onslow would have the Board of Agriculture. It can scarcely be said that he will add much strength to the Cabinet; but, as an Under-Secretary of State, he has served for a longer period than any other, and has always shown himself a competent administrator, with some resource as a parliamentary speaker. By his promotion, too, the Government will be saved stirring up jealousy among its subordinate members in the House of Commons.

May 16th.—At the Prime Minister's party last night Stanley, who had been at Preston three times in the course of the Election, said the result represented the extreme limit of Trade Union strength in the borough, and was in every respect satisfactory. There was every reason to think that Mr. Billington, whose secession from the Conservative ranks had been made so much of, went and voted quietly with his old friends, and there were many other cases of the same kind, which accounts for the bitterness expressed by the defeated party.

May 17th. S.Y. Aldebaran, Poole.—I joined this ship, which Spencer Chapman has just bought, at Shoreham yesterday. After being shut up in London for some weeks, there is no greater pleasure than finding oneself at sea. On the deck of a ship one seems to acquire the freedom of the Universe by the simple operation of the will, and a purging of the mind's visual rays ensues. We left Shoreham at 2.15, and encountered half a gale dead ahead till we reached St. Catherine, where we had to lie quiet in the race for ten minutes and let the tide drift us round the

point. Thence to Poole the wind was on our beam, but there was a great deal of sea till we reached the shelter of the Isle of Purbeck; the wind, too, blew cold, and the decks were swimming in water three or four inches deep. I remained below for the greater part of the way. We averaged just twelve knots, which, considering the boat was being driven against a strong head-wind, was a very good result.

May 20th.—At the Council to-day Onslow's appointment as President of the Board of Agriculture was made, and he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. There were two Orders of great importance touching colonial matters submitted, which might have made his presence valuable; but the information I had given the King the night before proved sufficient to ward off any questions. By the creation of an Inter-Colonial Council for the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River, the germ of a federated South Africa has been introduced into its constitution, and the Council is not only to have administrative duties, but the command of a common fund. Letters patent providing for a change in the constitution of Malta were also submitted. The Duke of Devonshire told Onslow he did not remember this having been laid before the Cabinet, upon which I ventured to interject that was one of the advantages of having a despotic and strong-willed Secretary of State!

May 26th.—Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ? The Duchess of Devonshire is much disturbed because the Prime Minister has asked the Duke to give a dinner on the King's birthday to relieve his list of a number of Privy Councillors in both Houses. "That Mr. Sandars," she says, "is always interfering!" and she has some cause to complain that, at the moment the Lord President is denied a salary, he is asked, quite contrary to any precedent, to take some of his official guests off the hands of the Prime Minister. However, the Duke was never known to refuse his good offices at the request of a colleague, and the dinner is to be given.

Last Friday I dined with the Master Cutler of Sheffield, to meet the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and some leading representatives of the City Companies, in furtherance of a scheme for interesting these bodies in the future of Sheffield University College, which it is hoped may, by the co-operation of the Privy Council, become the centre of an independent University. There is no doubt about the strength of the feeling elicited by the determination of Yorkshire College to act for itself; and to-day the Duke of Norfolk, the President of the College, and Charlie Wortley, Senior Member for the Borough, met the Duke of Devonshire at the House of Lords in order to obtain some assurance that their fortunes would not be prejudiced by the isolated action of Leeds. This the Duke was able to give, and

though the movement for University Extension in the North of England is likely to go further than we had anticipated, yet the chance of securing £500,000 for University Education at Sheffield is not one that can be lost for a punctilio.

May 28th.—Political speculation is on fire to know the meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's recent utterances, and parliamentary curiosity may be satisfied to-night. For one thing, there is perhaps no great difference in principle between his views and those of the Prime Minister, though Mr. Chamberlain, with characteristic self-confidence, is disposed to push them on the acceptance of the country with all the violence of conviction of which he is capable, whereas the other is much more alive to the difficulties, both practical and sentimental, which await any serious tampering with our traditional fiscal policy. Haldane expressed to me this afternoon his satisfaction with the turn that the London Education Bill had taken, and shared my surprise that the Government had allowed this result to be reached so tardily. The Bill now stands in the form that we were agreed three months ago was the only possible way out of the tangle, and after numberless drafts and redrafts, and the most damaging criticism to which any legislative measure was ever exposed, the Government have accepted the inevitable.

May 29th.—The events of last night exceeded all expectations, and are likely to issue in that diagonal line of cleavage that Lord Rosebery predicted. Mr. Chamberlain, not content with Mr. Balfour's giving a speculative and academic gloss to the views he entertained, rushed into the fray, and, in a manner which led the House and the Press to believe that he was the mouthpiece of a united Cabinet, made a most uncompromising declaration against some of the darling doctrines of the average free traders. Animated and provocative as the speech was, it did not convince his hearers that he had thought the problem out, and such speeches as were made from his own side were all more or less opposed to his views. This morning prominent Liberal Unionists like A. Elliot and H. Hobhouse have urged the Duke of Devonshire to protect the party organisation from being made an instrument in the constituencies of Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda. The Duke is by no means favourably inclined to economic innovations, and has, moreover, been always distinguished for the courage of his Free-trade convictions; he has therefore written to Mr. Chamberlain deprecating his attitude and warning him that it may be impossible for him (the Duke) to associate himself with a campaign for the furtherance of the other's views, and expressly reserving the Liberal Unionist organisation from being made a party to it by any precipitate action. The Duke's mind works surely, if slowly, and the further deliverance of his judgment on the issues will be keenly awaited by those who question Mr.

Chamberlain's prudence and have not Mr. Balfour's sympathy with speculative freedom in handling political formularies. The question is largely one of facts and figures, and in dealing with them Mr. Chamberlain is apt to pursue the eclectic methods of Mr. Gladstone—a course which does not commend itself to the more solid and searching mental efforts of the Lord President. The latter's residence in the tranquil atmosphere of Lismore will have a fruitful effect in assisting him to arrive at a conclusion.

June 2nd.—Heard of the death of my niece, Rosalind Corry, who has been for two years in the deadly grip of consumption. For more than twelve months she had been undergoing the open-air treatment at Nordrach-on-Mendip, but the hopes first entertained proved illusory, and since February she has been gradually losing ground. For some days last week there were renewed signs of improvement, but they were nothing but the last flicker of expiring strength, and the end came suddenly this morning. Only nine-and-twenty, with much beauty and charm, happy in the possession of a husband's love and two young children, and with everything to make the prospect of life hopeful and attractive, her death must move the most callous to compassion. *Sit anima cum sanctis.*

June 8th.—Political London is much exercised over the developments that it is expected must ensue from Mr. Chamberlain's action. Contrary to his original intention, the Duke of Devonshire is to return from Ireland for the Cabinet to-morrow, and, in view of the opinion he has expressed to Mr. Chamberlain, it is obvious that a great deal turns upon the first interchange of oral communication between the two. The Duke believes that Chamberlain has carried the Prime Minister off his legs, but Mr. Balfour is adroit enough to find a formula that may for the moment postpone a crisis, and he knows too well the value of Whig support in the Cabinet to alienate it prematurely, in reliance on Mr. Chamberlain's influence with the masses. Not long ago he told John Morley that he had never realised the full value of Whig principles in English politics till his association with the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lansdowne in the same Cabinet had brought it home to him. To this Morley quite agreed, and said he would like to add Lord Spencer as another example of the same great and enduring tradition.

June 10th.—In the result of Mr. Chamberlain's action on the eve of the discussion of the Budget Bill, the Government have been placed in a very awkward position, out of which it will require all Arthur Balfour's dialectical skill and ingenuity of phrase to extricate them, even if but temporarily. The freedom with which Mr. Chamberlain expressed himself, followed by the partial adhesion of the Prime Minister to his views, was a challenge to Free Traders on both sides of the House to elicit, if possible,

a declaration of fiscal policy expressing the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. The trend of opinion within that august body runs in three main channels: there is, first, a strong and coherent minority unswerving in their fidelity to the Free-trade principles of the last sixty years; the influence of these is centred round the Duke of Devonshire, to whom they naturally look for guidance as the oldest and most experienced statesman now in the service of the Crown. Mr. Chamberlain perhaps stands alone in the vehemence of his attachment to preferential duties, but has, no doubt, the strong support of more than one of his colleagues. A third section are more or less of the same way of thinking, but prone to take the cue from the Prime Minister, who, with the remainder of the Cabinet, is prepared to give the Colonial Secretary's schemes a sympathetic consideration, desirous to find grounds for their approval, but doubtful of their practicability, fearful of committing the party unreservedly to their acceptance, yet dominated by the belief that Mr. Chamberlain is a force too strong to be disregarded.

Before the Cabinet met yesterday Mr. Ritchie and Lord Lansdowne had an interview with the Duke of Devonshire, at which the first-named expressed himself very forcibly in condemnation of Mr. Chamberlain's " scandalous " speech, and submitted a formula for his colleagues' approval, in which he sought to lay before the House of Commons his repudiation of Protectionist heresies. This formula, I understand, the Duke and Lord Lansdowne accepted as embodying their views, though suggesting that the Cabinet might like to put it in more neutral form. They appear, however, to have left it to the Prime Minister, in consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to determine its final form, and thus it came about that Mr. Ritchie was allowed to read to the House a formal adhesion to Free-trade principles which was understood at any rate to express the conviction of that section of the Cabinet that had made up its mind. Mr. Chamberlain was, I believe, intensely irritated, but the Prime Minister very justly thinks that Mr. Ritchie is entitled to as much freedom of speech in one direction as Mr. Chamberlain has assumed in another.

For the moment the parliamentary difficulty is got over, but in the Duke's opinion the respite can only be a brief one, and it does not seem that the Prime Minister's idea of drawing a mantle of indecision over their differences can materially prolong the life of the Administration. Of course, if Mr. Chamberlain were to accept the position so far as to respect his colleagues' scruples by abstaining from any active propaganda so long as he retained office, a *modus vivendi* of indefinite duration might be arranged; but, having taken so decided a line on his own initiative, and having announced the intention to transfer the scene of the struggle to

the constituencies, he is not likely to pause, and it remains to be seen what the Free Traders in the Cabinet will do.

In certain circumstances the Prime Minister may be forced to decide between the two streams of tendency. In that case he may feel obliged to sacrifice any speculative preferences of his own to the paramount obligation of keeping the party together, and tell Mr. Chamberlain he must pursue his propaganda outside the Ministry.

There is no doubt the Duke regards this as the only event that would make retention of power by the Government possible, but the Prime Minister's resolution will have to be considerably stiffened before he adopts such a course. Indeed, to judge by what he has written on the subject, he appears to think it practicable, without committing himself definitely, to base a qualified support of a preferential tariff on the slender prospect of obtaining delay on his own terms.

Speculation is rife as to Mr. Chamberlain's motive in raising the issue at this juncture. Without accepting the theory of the Opposition that it is deliberately intended to distract attention from topics that have not provided the Ministry with models of successful achievement, it is not unfair to assume that he thought the moment ripe for a new departure in politics, which should withdraw the mind of the people from outworn controversies and raise the level of public interest to the appreciation of wider and more permanent issues. It is notorious that Mr. Chamberlain has no love for the Irish Land Bill, and people do not, therefore, hesitate to ascribe to him the intention if possible to wreck it, even going so far as to attribute to him an ungovernable jealousy of George Wyndham's rising reputation; but the only weight that I should attach to considerations arising out of the Irish Land Bill is the effect that the risks to which it is exposed have had on the mind of the Prime Minister, in urging him to do his utmost to keep the Cabinet together for the remainder of the Session.

June 12th.—The *leitmotiv* of the situation is a formula that both Mr. Chamberlain and the Free Traders in the Cabinet can for the moment accept, and, notwithstanding the derisive comments we hear on the open mind of the Prime Minister, his speech has done much to avert an immediate crisis. Opinion in the House of Commons is emphatically favourable to the tact and ingenuity with which he has encountered circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. Never did his dialectical subtlety and personal influence obtain more striking and complete recognition. Under its magnetism even Mr. Chamberlain and the Chancellor of the Exchequer sat side by side in the harmony of a perfectly amicable intercourse. Interest is now transferred to the House of Lords, where Lord Goschen proposes to ask for some explanations on

Monday. It is unnecessary to say that the Duke of Devonshire will deal with the issue in a spirit altogether different from that of Mr. Balfour, but with results that will probably have a still greater effect in reassuring the public mind. It is interesting to note that Mr. Chamberlain does not propose to see him, but has asked him to confer with Mr. Arnold Forster, who is, therefore, to have an interview on the Duke's return from Cambridge to-morrow evening. Mr. Chamberlain may be well advised in not exposing his own somewhat hastily improvised economic theories to the battering-ram of the Duke's very direct methods of discussion.

June 13th.—Lord Rosebery's speech last night, though decisive on the issue raised by Mr. Chamberlain, was not couched in a spirit of complaisance towards Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and the stalwarts of Free-trade orthodoxy. His remarks on the sudden relegation to the background of the controversies of yesterday were very much to the point: no one, except the passive resisters, any longer cares two straws about Education Acts or Army Corps, and in the result I met the Secretary of State for War wearing the jauntiest air, as if a load had been removed from his back.

No one can say the Prime Minister is wanting in vigilance touching the national defence, if, as I am told, he sent a spy to Dover, who, without the least interference from the military authorities on the spot, brought away a complete survey of the defences, with their armaments and weak points accurately noted!

June 16th.—The debate in the House of Lords has raised the level of the tariff controversy and helped to make the position of the Government plain. I sat through the first two speeches, and had the advantage of some comments on the situation as it developed from two members of the Government who were sitting next me, in the persons of Stanley and Walter Long. Lord Goschen's speech was a very good one from his point of view, though rather tainted by the prepossessions of Cobdenism and a disposition to make a rhetorical use of the "good of the people" consideration. Stanley treated his apostrophe to the Duke of Devonshire, not to lend the weight of his authority to a gamble in such a market, somewhat irreverently by saying: "He does not know His Grace if he thinks him unprepared for any gamble. Crewe followed, without adding much to our enlightenment, and Lord Avebury's inaudibility drove me away before Lord Lansdowne got up, whose argument from the purely Foreign Office standpoint of retaliatory duties led people to suppose he was an adherent of Chamberlain, whereas his position differs little from that of the Duke. There are many people who see the great difference between the retaliatory and the preferential side of the argument for a modification of our present system, and

though the first-named may be as hard as the other for the fanatical Free Trader to concede, yet it can be defended on grounds of great plausibility, and is open to less effective criticism. The Duke wound up the debate in a speech of great thoroughness and force, worthy of his reputation and the frankness of his attitude. His remarks, taken with those of Lord Lansdowne, indicate the ministerial case with definiteness and amplitude, and afford a pledge for the exhaustive examination of Mr. Chamberlain's contention by the Cabinet itself, sitting as a Royal Commission, with all the material prepared and sifted and with little to do but arrive at a conclusion on the facts and figures presented to them. Mr. Chamberlain has, in short, to convince them. During Lord Goschen's speech I said to Walter Long, "You are an adherent of Chamberlain, are you not?" "Yes," he replied, "more or less." "I suppose," was my rejoinder, "by that you mean that the test of his case lies in its applicability?" "Yes," he said, "that is why I used the words 'more or *less*.'" And this, I think, is the conviction of a good many people; but a large number are prepared to back J. C. to find a way, *coûte que coûte*.

June 17th.—Talking to the Duke to-day, I said it was a great tribute to the adroitness of his speech that "The Westminster Gazette" last night and "The Times" this morning should have made it the approved text of a sermon on either side of the controversy. "Well," he said, "I was much more successful in that way than I thought, for when I sat down I said to Lansdowne, 'I am afraid Chamberlain will tear my hair to-morrow for this.' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'I think he will have something caustic to say on the subject.' But when I got to the Turf Club I met Chaplin, who told me he had been very much pleased with what I had said, and Chamberlain, who was standing by him, was equally pleased."

Later in the afternoon Lord Allerton was with me, and I took occasion to ask him what he thought. "You have only got to turn," he said, "to the Duke of Devonshire's speech on Monday, to see stated with far greater force than I could employ what I venture to call my mind on the subject"; and then he went on to describe in terms of the highest eulogy the weight that the Duke's utterances carried with them and the reasoned eloquence with which he had measured the issues and summed up the conclusion of the debate.

June 19th.—The committee stage of the Irish Land Bill has already been marked by one transaction of a peculiarly Hibernian flavour. Redmond brought forward his amendment for the removal of the limits within which reductions of rent may be made, at a moment when a large number of the Ministerialists were at Ascot and an early division would have resulted in his favour, with the probable consequence of the abandonment of

the Act. George Wyndham sought a conference with him and explained the situation, whereupon Redmond put up one Irishman after another to talk against time and keep the discussion going, in order that his own amendment might be defeated. This they did with such sound and fury that no one at the moment, and still less any reader of the papers the following morning, realised what was going on. In an hour or two's time Wyndham had his men ready, and the amendment was negatived by forty-six.

June 22nd.—Riversdale Walrond, who met Chamberlain yesterday at the Rayleighs', describes him as full to overflowing with Zollverein enthusiasm, able to talk of little else, and confident that his scheme will carry the country. Close observers, however, say that the impression he gives is that of a man who is seeking arguments wherewith to prop conclusions which he has arrived at on *a priori* grounds, rather than one who has carefully worked out the data on which to build up his case. Lord Balfour, to whom I was talking this morning, is certainly of that opinion, and therein lies the extreme improbability of his convincing those members of the Cabinet who are determined to sift the bases of proof by which he is claiming support for his scheme. Chamberlain's forte has not yet been shown to lie in the direction of patient investigation; indeed, his career is strewn with the débris of abandoned hypotheses.

June 25th.—Council at Buckingham Palace, mainly for the purpose of passing the order by which the Prince of Wales's promotion to be a Vice-Admiral was sanctioned. The King was in very good spirits, and waxed merry over the Duke of Devonshire's struggles to pronounce the Indian names in the Judicial Committee's reports.

June 26th.—Celebration of the King's birthday. Nearly thirty people, men, women, and children, assembled on my stand to see the Birthday Parade. The structure was only designed to contain twenty, so that there was some crowding, and at the close the rail along the back showed symptoms of giving way. It was a brilliant sight, as the weather was all that could be wished.

The Duke's dinner at Devonshire House was attended by thirty Peers and Privy Councillors. I had to sit at one end of the table, and arranged to have Herbert Maxwell on one side of me and Charlie Wortley on the other. After dinner Mr. Chaplin, who was on the Duke's left, informed me that he had never had a better dinner, but there was one point he had ventured to criticise, and asked the Duke to convey a message to the Duchess, viz. that the grapes with the ortolans were not stoned!

Jesse Collings, just before he left, buttonholed the Duke on tariff reform. He was a little bit the better for the banquet, and was very full of the great things Mr. Chamberlain was to do and the activity that the Birmingham organisation was displaying

on the subject. The Duke heard him in absolute silence, and at the end of the conversation, by which time they had reached the top of the staircase, said grimly: "Good night, Mr. Collings; take care of the first step."

The crowd at Londonderry House was the densest I had ever seen at a London party; the rooms upstairs were never full because a large section of the company had to remain in the hall, and a still larger body was collected in Park Lane, and never entered the house.

On the return from conducting Princess Christian to her carriage Lord Londonderry was very nearly torn in pieces, and the struggle to get out of the house was one of superhuman difficulty. One girl fainted in the street and had to be laid out on the pavement, and one or two others collapsed inside the building.

July 1st.—The debate raised by Lord Rosebery last night on the tariff question failed in every object except to excite the wrath of the Duke of Devonshire. He vehemently denounced the practice of hanging a fresh debate on the material of a past one, in order to fill up the lacunæ which the *esprit de l'escalier* of the Opposition had overlooked, and to Lord Rosebery's interruption that he appeared pretty well prepared with the material for discussion he growled in reply: "I knew you."

It was a little inconsistent on the part of Lord Rosebery to magnify the issue to the point of describing the Empire to be at stake, and then to criticise the Government's attitude of enquiry.

I dined with Herbert Maxwell, and met the Swedish Minister, Austen Chamberlain, Sir V. Caillard, Mr. Justice Darling, and others.

July 7th.—The *déjeuner* at the Guildhall, in connection with the reception of President Loubet, was a very brilliant affair. The central figure was poor and insignificant, with none of the Frenchman's gifts of oratory, but he acquitted himself with becoming dignity. Delcassé and Lepine, the Prefect of Police, are, if possible, still more insignificant in appearance, and the only Frenchmen present of impressive personality were the representatives of the combatant Services. The Lord Mayor read his speech in carefully prepared and not badly pronounced French. All the members of the Royal Family were present, and about half the Cabinet. The reception of the President was animated, not to say enthusiastic.

July 8th.—Besides his speeches in the House of Lords, which have gone far to reassure the public mind and give it security against the hasty adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's nostrums, the Duke of Devonshire is engaged in protecting the Cabinet from the perils of undue haste. Lord Northbrook having submitted his intention to raise the question of the effect on India of preferential tariffs, Mr. Chamberlain was at first disposed to refuse India this

benefit unless she could give us something in return, thus suggesting her treatment as a foreign country, or insisting on the imposition by the Indian Government of custom duties on goods imported from foreign countries. It is needless to say that this filled the India Office with dismay. Mr. Chamberlain was ready to treat their memorandum on the subject with contempt, but the Duke enforced their arguments with great vigour and put the alternative to Mr. Chamberlain in a form which he was unable to gainsay. Indeed, he went so far as to declare that, assuming Lord Northbrook took the line which he supposed he would, he could not express his dissent, and, unless Mr. Chamberlain was prepared to acquiesce, he must ask somebody else to represent the Government in reply to Lord Northbrook. This ultimatum Mr. Chamberlain had no choice but to accept.

July 12th.—We are spending Sunday at Batsford, and, far as it is to go for a forty hours' stay, we are amply repaid by the charm and delight of the place and the surroundings. An epitome of the flora of the world, the garden illustrates in the highest degree the excellence of the English climate for the cultivation of every kind of exotic. The collection is specially rich in examples of the rose, the bamboo, and the conifer, and the combinations of blossom and foliage present the most exquisite pictures to the eye. Though all the world is contributory to the effect, yet the whole produces the illusion of a spontaneous outgrowth of the soil, and the presence of a background of stately forest trees tends to make it appear that the garden owes little to modern labour. Our host and his daughter are all that is courteous and hospitable, and the weather leaves nothing to be desired.

July 17th.—The tariff controversy goes on merrily, and there are no signs of any real approximation between the disputants; indeed, the gulf widens as each section of opinion shows a disposition to press its conclusions to the extreme point.

Chamberlain was recently asked by Herbert Maxwell when he began to doubt the application of Free-trade doctrines to the present condition of our trade. "Well," he said, "there is no reason why I should not tell you that it was in 1882, when, as President of the Board of Trade, I had to answer a motion of Ritchie's in favour of retaliatory tariffs." How curious that the lapse of twenty years should have just reversed the parts played by these gentlemen!

July 19th.—Sunday at Ratton with the Freeman-Thomases, in the midst of a Free-trade caucus of which "Loulou" Harcourt is the animating spirit, and among the rest the Godfrey Barings, and that charming woman Mrs. Adeane. However much one sympathises with Free-trade doctrines, one cannot but be struck by the mechanical way in which its extreme advocates are disposed to apply the formulæ they have imbibed as a revelation, and it

is difficult to avoid the belief that in practice large deductions must be made from dogmas so glibly laid down as the *ultima ratio* of economics.

Godfrey Baring told us that, on the arrival of Arthur Balfour a few days ago at Esher, his hostess [1] asked him whether he would have tea or coffee, and, on his saying he did not care which, replied, " You have no ' settled convictions ' on the point ! "—an irreverent application of his phrase which somewhat nettled him.

July 23rd.—I walked across the parade ground with Lord Balfour to-day, and found him much depressed by the turn things were taking. He is evidently very sore at the way the Prime Minister has allowed Chamberlain his head, and complained bitterly of the *insouciance* with which he treated everything. For his own part, he did not care how soon he went ; but I expressed the hope he would not go before the Duke.

A prominent Liberal was with me later, and spoke with great frankness of the situation. He cannot see how a Ministry from which the Free-trade element has withdrawn itself could survive a debate on the Address, and therefore leans to a dissolution this autumn rather than in the spring, if, as he thinks certain, the Duke resigns in October. I told him I thought there was still some probability of a *via media*, by which disruption might be staved off ; but he appears to think Chamberlain would prefer a period of opposition with a weak Liberal Ministry in office, and would go for an early dissolution as the most likely step to a Campbell-Bannerman Administration and a successful propaganda for preferential tariffs in the constituencies. There was one alternative, which he did not believe impossible in the last resort, and that was a Coalition Ministry between the Liberals and Free-trade Tories, with the Duke of Devonshire as Prime Minister. With a view to this eventuality, Hugh Cecil and Lloyd George are already engaged on an Educational Eirenicon. It would indeed be strange if a common repulsion were to unite, even for a time, such discordant elements.

In somewhat curious confirmation of these expectations, the debate in the House of Lords on Lord Lytton's question relative to Mr. Chamberlain's leaflets was remarkable for the expressions of confidence lavished on the Duke of Devonshire, not only by Unionists of both sections, but by Lords Spencer and Rosebery. The burden of all the appeals to him was, " Come out from among them " ; and if Free Trade is to find a temporary tabernacle, such a combination would possess elements of undoubted strength.

I met Lord James afterwards at dinner with the Stuart-Wortleys, and he spoke to me with very great feeling of his

[1] Lady Helen Vincent.

attachment to the Duke. I took Mrs. Forster[1] in to dinner, a very pleasant and capable woman—an opinion which Lord James, who was on the other side of her, seemed to share.

Marlborough, at whose appointment as Under-Secretary of the Colonies there is no little surprise, at any rate shows zeal—or is it assurance? Meeting the Duke of Devonshire's Private Secretary yesterday, he asked him whether he had observed Lytton's question, adding significantly that it refers to the Colonies. "Yes," said Dunville, "but it is addressed to the Lord President." "So I see," replied Marlborough, "but I thought the Duke might desire me to speak in support." "Oh," rejoined Dunville, "I don't think he will trouble you in the first twenty-four hours of your holding office." As a matter of fact, on this occasion the Duke did get on without assistance.

July 28th.—It is becoming more than ever obvious that Chamberlain has made a miscalculation. Without attaching too much importance to the results of the Barnard Castle election, no one can argue from it that the constituency was in the least degree captivated by the alluring picture presented by Gilbert Parker and other M.P.'s, who went far beyond the candidate in their advocacy of preference and retaliation. But here in London, and particularly at Westminster, the hesitating and sceptical are making their doubts felt. The Duke's stand in and out of the Cabinet is having its legitimate effect, and on all sides you hear it said that the Prime Minister ought to have nipped the present situation in the bud. His action in the matter is clearly the result of great deliberation.

July 30th.—A telegram from the Government of India records the strongest possible protest on the part of the Governor-General in Council against the proposed charge of £400,000 on the Indian Treasury for the maintenance of the additional troops in South Africa, from which a reserve of 12,000 men is to be held available for instant despatch to India.

The Duke of Devonshire came into the Travellers' to dine when the Committee stage of the London Education Bill was concluded, and after dinner joined Claud Hamilton and me. He seemed in better spirits than of late, and spoke jokingly of "Joe" and his schemes. Later, when Claud Hamilton was gone, he disburdened his mind more freely. He is confident that Chamberlain had not given the least sustained thought to the consequences of his theories, when he announced them as necessary to the country's Imperial existence, and finds nothing in the arguments now adduced to shake his faith in the general efficacy of Free Trade. He is very strong on the risks of any change and the insufficiency of the pleas advanced in support of it.

[1] Now Lady Forster, wife of the Governor-General of Australia.

July 31*st.*—I had a talk with Mowatt[1] this morning, which was very instructive on certain phases of the fiscal crisis. He has been very much struck by the extraordinary ignorance certain Ministers have displayed upon the very basis of economic theory. It was a revelation to Chamberlain that goods exported were not paid for in cash, and another seemed equally surprised to be told, when he drew the line at the taxation of raw material, that the food of the people was raw material in its rawest and most absolute form, being the very substance out of which the brain and sinew of the worker have to be evolved. Mowatt believes Mr. Balfour's attitude towards the taxation of food has considerably stiffened; and with it the Cabinet's antipathy to this part of Chamberlain's proposals is more pronounced. If, then, as he believes, Chamberlain has no intention of repudiating it, the probabilities point to his resignation as soon as the period limited by the Enquiry has expired.

August 4*th.*—The promoters of the Sugar Convention Bill have just discovered that certain Orders in Council will be required under it before September 1st, whereas the King has fixed Monday the 18th for the last Council before he goes abroad, a date by which it is extremely unlikely that the Bill will be through Parliament. The question turned upon the committee stage in the House of Commons being concluded without amendments on Thursday morning, and the House of Lords being willing to sit on Saturday to pass it through all its stages. I laid the issue before the Duke of Devonshire in the House of Lords, and was asked by him to see what could be done in the other House. I accordingly interviewed the Chief Whip, who had great doubts about being able to hold his men together so as to pass the Bill without amendment, and was sceptical whether, after an all-night sitting, they could be brought up to take the third reading on Friday. The Opposition Peers being pledged to a full-dress debate on the second reading, there was the further doubt whether they would agree to a Saturday sitting. I then saw the Prime Minister and explained to him the situation, and suggested that the Duke had better sound the Liberal leaders on the last point at once, to which he agreed. Subsequently Lord Tweedmouth and Lord Spencer saw him and the Prime Minister, with a view to the possibility of some arrangement being effected by confidential negotiation. I acquit Lord Spencer of any breach of the most scrupulous conduct, but it illustrates the methods of his colleagues when I say that, from the moment he left the Prime Minister's room, the opposition to the Bill was intensified, and in the course of the evening the tight place the Government were in was the gossip of the lobby.

August 6*th.*—The King has made matters easy by undertaking

[1] Sir Francis Mowatt, Secretary of the Treasury.

to hold a second Council on Tuesday evening at eight o'clock, on his return from Sandringham. By this means the House of Lords will be able to pass the Sugar Bill through all its stages on Monday, and I have arranged with the Lord Chancellor for a Commission to give the Royal Assent early in the afternoon of the following day. The first day of the committee stage of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords did not show the system of whipping in that assembly to any advantage. In the second division, after having escaped defeat in the first by one vote, the Government was beaten by three, five of their own members being absent: Onslow, the most recent Cabinet Minister, being at Guildford, Marlborough, the last appointed Minister, not having left his office, Portland and Howe not having taken the trouble to come up, and Pembroke being ill. On the other hand, men like Lord Burnham, who had just taken his seat, and many others, had never been given to understand their presence was wanted; and in one or two later divisions the Government were voted down by the solid phalanx of Irish Peers, who presented the appearance of a sort of "Mountain," massed as they were behind the Bishops on the extreme left of the House.

August 8th.—The Government began better to-day, but their men were not kept, and after dinner the Irish Peers defeated them once or twice badly. On the question, however, of paying the whole *bonus* to the tenant for life, an eloquent effort of Lord Robertson to have the interests of the remainder-man considered failed to obtain thirty supporters. I left the House with him some little while later, when he told me that, in passing the Duke of Devonshire on his way back to his place after the division, His Gracc said: "Well, your efforts on behalf of the Ten Commandments were not successful!" The Duke has taken strong mcasures to prevent the Government being in the same humiliating position when the report stage is reached on Monday. He spoke with great directness to Portland in the Housc last night, and has further sought to stimulate Waldegrave into some activity by direct personal efforts to secure the attendance of a reliable majority.

August 10th.—I found that the Mint had ignored the Lord Chancellor in their preparation of the design for the new great seal. It seems to have been a deliberate slight on the part of Macartney,[1] as an arrangement had been made between the King and Chancellor by which he was to be consulted at every stage, and Knollys expressed himself rather strongly on this disregard of His Majesty's wishes. However, I have been able to obtain the King's consent to a reservation being made in regard to his ultimate approval of the completed seal, in case the impressions taken are not satisfactory, and with this the Lord Chancellor is content.

[1] Right Hon. W. E. Macartney, Dep. Master of the Mint.

The Council was preceded by some discussion of the King's Speech, for which I was called in, as some changes His Majesty had desired were only made at the last moment, when I was with Sandars and Mr. Balfour. The King was very anxious that special prominence should be given to his visit to Ireland, whereas, in the first draft, it had been classed with his visit to Scotland, as if one had no more significance than the other; and he very properly insisted upon a paragraph describing the whole itinerary relating to Ireland. He was also dissatisfied with the account of the Somaliland campaign, and criticised the passage dealing with it very accurately. In the result it was altered, but not very freely. Knollys remarked to me on the interest the King took in all the details of the Admiralty Memorials, which showed a disposition to make the Service more favourable to all ranks.

The success of the efforts to improve the attendance in the House of Lords is very marked, and for the first two hours the Irish Peers declined to challenge a division. I was glad to see the Duke of Grafton was one of those who responded to his leader's personal appeal.

August 11*th*.—Lord Balfour of Burleigh dined with me at Willis's Club, and was far from confirming the sanguine estimate others had formed upon the Prime Minister's resolution in regard to the taxation of food. In his view an acute crisis was bound to come the end of next month, when he expects to be out of the Ministry with his Free-trade colleagues. He felt that the continuance of the Government turned upon the number of persons who might follow the Duke of Devonshire, and thought that if Lord Lansdowne adhered to him, the Government could not meet Parliament. He thought, however, that Mr. Balfour's personal magnetism would suffice to carry him over the immediate difficulty, though he believed that in the long run he would say ditto to Mr. Chamberlain. He spoke with the warmest sympathy and attachment towards the Duke of Devonshire, whose resolution and sagacity commanded his highest admiration. He gave me the actual account of what passed (at the Opera House) when the King protested he would never consent to the taxation of the food of the poor. The discussion started on the Motor Bill, in connection with which the King said, "You must tax them; I am all in favour of taxing the *rich*"; on which Ritchie said: "Your Majesty does not approve taxing the food of the poor?" "No," replied the King, "and I do not care who knows it!" On which the Duke turned to Lord Balfour and said, "We must really get this man on the stump!"

August 14*th*.—The curtain has fallen on the Session of 1903. All difficulties in the way of its close to-day vanished in face of the reasonable spirit pervading minorities that might have imposed obstacles on the realisation of the general wish. On

behalf of the Irish Peers, Abercorn was not far wrong in attributing to the Duke's management of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords the spirit of compromise that filled the atmosphere yesterday. It was felt that their representations had not been treated with contemptuous indifference, and they were unwilling to press for anything the Government had a scruple in granting. A last splutter of discontent broke out in the Commons over the refusal of the Prime Minister to treat seriously the complaints of those who were denied the opportunity of a fiscal debate, but, looking to the short time that must elapse before that issue is definitely faced by the Cabinet, they can well afford to possess their souls in patience. I cannot make arrangements for a long absence, as Ministers must meet at the end of September, when in all probability a crisis will ensue. I shall have, moreover, to complete the dispositions for the sitting of the Committee on Physical Deterioration, over which I have been called by the Duke to preside.

August 22nd.—After five days afloat on board the "Aldebaran," during which a succession of gales prevented our doing more than make a passage from Southampton to Weymouth, I reached Ammerdown three days ago, and am enjoying one of those intervals of calm and contentment which are only possible under the most favourable conditions of companionship and environment.

Lady Galloway's unexpected death has moved me deeply. It was only a fortnight ago I heard from her of the pleasure she took in a place in the New Forest she had hired for some ten weeks—a pleasure she was anxious all her friends should share. Within a week of writing that letter she was stricken with pneumonia, and died from heart failure last Tuesday. She has had but two and a half years' relief from the trials that beset her, and had planned for herself an existence which promised to secure her the social and intellectual enjoyment that her cultivated taste demanded; and now all is in the dust. She was buried to-day at Hatfield, under the shadow of her illustrious brother's imminent end, and with her disappears as loyal and sincere a friend as it has been my fortune to know.

August 24th.—Lord Salisbury died on Saturday, a few hours after his sister had been laid to her long rest in the burial-place of the Cecils. To the observer in such close touch with his loss, the great features of his character and influence hardly fall into their proper perspective; but few have impressed their countrymen more, by the very isolation in which his qualities were wrapped. With the same dignity and detachment that he bore himself in political life, he has now crossed the threshold of history, and contemporary opinion is unanimous in recognising a personality that never wavered in its loyalty to the highest ideals of statesmanship.

August 26th–September 12th.—During these days I was in Ireland, and enjoyed the lull that the cessation of political and departmental activity brings with it. Desart was my first stay, whence I passed to Pakenham Hall. The country round was the theatre of some mimic warfare under the direction of the Commanding Officer at Belfast, to witness which I was taken on two occasions by Lady Longford. The arrival of the Duke of Connaught on the last day gave interest to the proceedings, which he followed with great attention. I was struck in the evening by the justice of his remarks on many points of army organisation which had been brought into prominence by the recent report of the War Commission. On my asking him whether he was going to take any leave shortly, "No," he replied, with evident feeling, "His Majesty tells me I am a great deal too much away." Till the arrival of the Duke and his staff I was the only guest in the house, and saw a great deal of both host and hostess. Longford's sterling qualities come out on closer acquaintance, and my regard for Lady Longford, which dates back to the days of her childhood, was much heightened by the incidents of daily life in her company while taking me about to follow the movements of the troops.

There is no question that the general effect of the Commission's Report is prejudicial to the administration of the W.O., though I have little doubt there is much injustice in the personal imputations. The Duke of Connaught told me the King had been very averse to the appointment of the Commission, and it is no doubt to be regretted that one of its most obvious consequences should be to sap public confidence in the management of affairs. But, on the other hand, the public must learn that intelligent principles of administration can only be ensured by a vigilant and exacting opinion brought to bear upon those charged with the duty of applying them, and every Secretary of State for War has looked in vain for the support and inspiration that such an opinion should give. There is next to no healthy sentiment of public duty governing military administration, and the utmost energy and rectitude of purpose in a civilian Secretary of State breaks powerless upon the dead wall of professional jealousy.

Subsequently I was at Baron's Court,[1] a beautiful place, and most pleasant party. The Waterfords were there for the Sunday, and I was delighted with her violin playing, graceful and full of feeling.

It was a great pleasure to meet the Hamiltons. He combines much ability with a diffidence that was very agreeable, and has a cultivated understanding on many subjects. Lady Hamilton is anxious that he should succeed in the House of Commons, and has a just judgment with much charm, which ought to be

[1] The home of the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn.

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useful to him. The Duke and Duchess and Lady Phyllis have all the essentials that make life in a country house attractive.

September 19th.—I propose to give a succinct account of the political crisis which has been the event of the week, and am able to do so with some fulness and accuracy. It is now known, by the publication of the document in question in the form of a pamphlet, that some weeks ago the Prime Minister circulated to his colleagues a memorandum on fiscal policy, defining the views which two months' consideration and enquiry had led him to form. These were, in short, that, while in general sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's ideas, he had come to the conclusion that public opinion in this country was not prepared to submit to the taxation of foodstuffs, and for the moment, therefore, Unionist policy should be concentrated on the effort to obtain a better outlet for our export trade by recourse to retaliatory tariffs in certain cases. It seems as if the Prime Minister had formulated these views in the hope that both sections of the Cabinet would agree to accept the compromise offered. Lord Lansdowne, whose convictions on the main question were known to coincide with those of the Duke of Devonshire, had expressed himself in favour of retaliation in the House of Lords. His retention of the Foreign seals was necessary if a break-up of the Government was to be averted, and the adherence of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain might, at any rate for a time, be secured to a programme which left the last-named free to add his unauthorised embroideries in presenting it from the platform. A few weeks' experience disabused the Prime Minister of this hope, and, writing a day or two before the Cabinet to a member of the party, he had no doubt "the Duke and three or four others would go."

Before the Cabinet met, Mr. Ritchie and Lord Balfour had circulated memoranda expressing decided opinions against any change in our fiscal system, in consequence of which they were in substance told by the Prime Minister that he would not expect their support any longer. This step on the part of the Prime Minister, which implied a challenge, accentuated the Duke's feelings in regard to his own position. "If the Free-trade members of the Cabinet are to be told that they are looked upon as irreconcilable, what is my position?" he naturally asked; and, as the Prime Minister then proceeded to indicate the policy he would announce at Sheffield, in a form that at the first blush appeared to the Duke to give Chamberlain the unfettered opportunity of carrying out his schemes, the situation seemed hopeless. Ritchie and Balfour of Burleigh were practically drummed out. George Hamilton was determined to go, and it was believed that Londonderry would follow the Duke in resigning, and possibly others.

On Tuesday evening the Duke's resignation was written out

and awaiting his instructions to be transmitted to the Prime Minister, when events took a sudden and unexpected turn, the preparation for which is to be found in the letter of Mr. Chamberlain, dated the 9th inst., and published on the day that his resignation was announced, but up to that time not communicated by the Prime Minister to his colleagues. In this letter he suggested that the best way out of the difficulty might be his resumption of the freedom of a private member to pursue his objects beyond the policy to which the Prime Minister might be able to receive the adhesion of the Cabinet, while relieving the Cabinet of any responsibility for their recommendation to the country. It is doubtful how far the Prime Minister thought this a practicable alternative when first presented; but the discussion in the Cabinet on the 14th, and the imminence of the Duke's resignation, led him to grasp it in the straitened circumstances of the hour. At 7.15 on Tuesday the 15th, the Prime Minister asked the Duke to see him, and explained that he did not intend Ritchie and Balfour of Burleigh to suppose that they were not any longer required, but that he only wished to indicate his fears that they might perhaps be no longer able to support him. He further told the Duke that, from a conversation he had had with Chamberlain, he thinks it quite likely that he (Chamberlain) will resign on account of the "preference scheme having been abandoned." The Duke, being ignorant of Chamberlain's letter, could hardly credit his having such an intention, but admitted that, if he did go, the whole situation was materially altered, and that in the circumstances the "Free Traders" might remain. This, however, does not appear to have been the wish of the Prime Minister. His object was to keep the Duke, while Ritchie, and the rest, might go. The ingenuity exerted to obtain this result has not given the Duke any great relish; and for the moment it seemed possible that the effect might be that the Duke, and those who thought with him, would go on the one hand, and J. C. on the other.

At any rate, the Duke felt great difficulty in determining the course he should pursue; but, after consideration, he sent in his letter of resignation with an explanatory note, pointing out that it was written under the impression that Chamberlain would remain in the Cabinet, and that if there proved to be any misapprehension on his (the Duke's) part as to that, it would be for the Prime Minister to correct him, and that, in such case, he might be able to reconsider his position after consultation with Ritchie, Balfour of Burleigh, George Hamilton, and Londonderry.

This brought matters to a head. On its receipt, the Prime Minister wrote the letter to Chamberlain which was published two days later, accepting his conclusion that he would prefer

to conduct his preference campaign outside the Government, as they refused to adopt his whole scheme, and agreeing to a severance which he regretted and plainly hoped to be only temporary; and at 7 p.m. Mr. Balfour saw the Duke at Devonshire House and explained what had happened.

September 21st.—Thus came about the resignations that were announced on Friday and set the world wondering. For the moment Lord Balfour of Burleigh's resignation was not included, and there appeared some possibility that it might be averted. The King took some objection, for he argued the situation was fundamentally changed by Chamberlain's withdrawal; but, as I indicated above, the Prime Minister did not want to keep him, as appears from the outcome of his visit to Balmoral and the resignation now announced. The Chamberlains would, I understand, in any case have regarded his retention with repugnance; and Austen, upon whose continued co-operation the Prime Minister set so much store in the postscript of his letter to Chamberlain, would probably have resigned—so delicate is the balance of the forces which the Prime Minister has undertaken to control. The King telegraphed at twelve on Thursday night to stop the publication of the resignations, but three hours too late, or we might have seen some effort on his part to arrange matters to his liking. As part and parcel of the confusion which has covered the transactions of the last few days, His Majesty does not seem to have been made aware of what was proceeding, and thought the Duke had gone; and, indeed, so rapid have been the transformations that we who have watched what has passed may almost be excused hesitation in accepting the logic of facts. It may be asked why the Duke has stayed and thus made himself a consenting party to the sacrifice of colleagues with whom he was in substantial agreement on the main issues; and to this question I now address myself. In the first place, the intense loyalty of the man to the leader he had accepted on Lord Salisbury's retirement made him extremely reluctant to go; to which must be added the mutual esteem which had long united the two and bound them in ties of most cordial co-operation; and, further, the persuasive eloquence of the Prime Minister, which in their interviews had been exerted to secure this object. The Prime Minister had already dilated on the influence the Duke could wield in restraining the advanced wing of fiscal reformers, and this argument was no doubt pressed again with the most serious insistence. Again, the Duke felt, and felt very keenly, his responsibility to the party at large: the others represented nothing but themselves, whereas his resignation would necessarily affect the combination which had maintained Unionism in power for nearly twenty years, if it did not inevitably dissolve it. He had, further, before him the consideration that the disturbing factor emanated from that division of

the party in the control of which he was at least nominally engaged, and a feeling of obligation to extricate the Prime Minister from the difficulties into which Mr. Chamberlain's precipitate action had plunged him no doubt figured largely in his survey of the situation. He was, perhaps, mistaken in yielding to the Prime Minister's insistence that common action up to a certain point had not committed him to a participation in the fate of his retiring colleagues; but there is a good deal that is still obscure in the circumstances connected with their retirement, and so far as two, at any rate, of them are concerned, a line has been taken which was to some degree provocative and calculated to leave on the Duke's mind the impression that their personal relations with the Prime Minister rendered it better that they should go. There was, lastly, the consideration that his retirement might be held to signify an intention to put himself forward as a competitor with the Prime Minister for the direction of the policy of the party. It is not, perhaps, generally known that, on Mr. Gladstone's defeat in 1886, the Queen twice pressed Lord Hartington, as he then was, to become Premier, and Lord Salisbury, to his eternal honour, was ready to serve under him; but the Duke, though grieved at being unable to comply with Her Majesty's request, held firmly to the conviction that the Prime Minister should belong to the section of the party which was numerically preponderant. For the third time people have indicated him as the possible leader of a Coalition based on allegiance to Free-trade principles; but I have never thought that such a position would have the least attraction for him, though possibly the Duchess has not yet surrendered the ambition that he should be Prime Minister.

September 30th.—I returned to London yesterday and saw Sandars this morning. It is hoped that everything will be arranged in time for the King to hold a Council on Friday, October 9th, to give effect to the Ministerial changes. Milner has refused to join, preferring the safer eminence of the Pro-Consulate to the precarious dignity of a Secretaryship of State. It is settled that Brodrick goes to the India Office, but the War Office is still going a-begging. Stanley will succeed Austen Chamberlain at the Post Office, presumably outside the Cabinet.

Further complications, however, may ensue. The three retiring Ministers are furious at the "transaction" by which the Duke remains and they go. Ritchie has drawn up a statement purporting to represent what has taken place, which he desires to make public, and the newspapers have got hold of the notion that he and the others resigned without knowing Chamberlain's intentions. The Duke disputes the accuracy of Ritchie's statement, but feels acutely the criticisms that have been directed against his separation of himself from his Free-trade colleagues, and doubts, moreover, whether any arrangement by which he

stays can be more than shortlived. He shares, too, the feeling that the Prime Minister's ingenuity is open to criticism, and does not like the idea that his retention of office may be construed in the light of a bargain. He has come up from Newmarket on purpose to see how far Ritchie's mouth can be stopped, and, if he can by any means reconcile it to his sense of right and expediency that he should remain for some time longer, he will. The Duchess, however, is urging him to go, as, in her opinion, it can only be a question of months, and she thinks he has been badly treated.

Whether he stays or goes, the Duke must suffer from the inherent difficulty of placing his action in its true light. Personally I think that unless the Prime Minister gives him reason, by anything he may say at Sheffield, for reconsidering his position, he will be well advised to accept the responsibility for his action a fortnight ago and await the progress of events.

October 3rd.—Things have turned out pretty much as I expected: the Duke resigns on the Sheffield speech, and not on the personal point to which Ritchie's action gave momentary prominence. To turn for a moment to Ritchie and the fruits of his resentful self-importance, owing to which something of what has happened found its way a night or two ago into the evening papers. On the morning after the Cabinet of September 14th Ritchie went to Devonshire House, and was told by the Duke that, upon the intimation given by the Prime Minister, at the opening of the Cabinet, he did not see that he was left with any alternative but resignation, and added that, unless anything occurred to alter the situation, he should resign himself. Subsequently Lord Balfour and George Hamilton came to the Duke's room and decided to take the same course. Later the Duke saw the Prime Minister, and, as we have seen, received the first warning that Chamberlain meditated resignation. But in the meantime Ritchie had told one or two people that the Duke was going. The next day (Thursday), when Mr. Chamberlain's resignation was a substantial fact, the Duke wrote to Ritchie and explained that in the altered circumstances he had decided to stay. Lord Balfour's absence prevented any communication with him, but, when the King took exception to his retirement, the Duke did his best to obtain the Prime Minister's consent to its cancellation. When Ritchie, a few days ago, sought to make a public statement of the reasons that led to his resignation, he dared to say that he had had the Duke's promise, if he decided to stay, to secure that his dissentient colleagues should have the right to reconsider their position. It is obvious that if this had been so the Duke would have been guilty of a breach of faith, and in any case he was involved in an unpalatable controversy with a rough-tongued malcontent not distinguished for measuring

his phrases. George Hamilton and Lord Balfour showed the most gentlemanlike spirit and absolved the Duke from having said anything in the nature of such a pledge, and after an interview with Ritchie, that personage unreservedly withdrew the allegation. There was, however, left in the Duke's mind an uncomfortable feeling that some lack of candour had obstructed his effort to save Lord Balfour at least from exclusion. Matters, however, touched a point where unity was impossible ; and I understand, in winding up the negotiations, it was allowed to appear that at this most critical stage Austen Chamberlain intervened with something in the nature of a veto on the retention of Lord Balfour.

As to the Prime Minister's responsibility in these transactions, I desire to speak with the liveliest sense of the difficulties of his position and the fullest intention to do him justice. It seems to many that he parted with Chamberlain under compulsion, believing the Duke's retention necessary to the preservation of the Government, and not for the moment seeing any other alternative ; but I am inclined to think that he had come to regard his departure as essential to the *via media* his ingenuity had created. In conversation he was never slow to avow the cordiality of his personal relations with the Duke and the esteem in which he held his political judgment. For a time he hoped to keep the Cabinet together on the policy foreshadowed in his *brochure* ; but, when that failed, and he believed the Duke's retirement imminent, the safety of the *via media*, such as it was, appeared to him involved in retaining the Duke at all hazards, and to that end he was willing and glad to part with Chamberlain, and, as he hoped, so to shape his remarks at Sheffield that the Duke should not find any cause of complaint. Perhaps, if they had stood alone, that would not have happened ; but, coming upon a mind touched by mistrust and doubtful of any issues consistent with the most nominal adhesion to Free Trade, he has not been able to reconcile them with his convictions on the score of public safety or personal integrity. The Prime Minister will, I believe, be acutely disappointed ; but the outspoken repudiation of the fiscal policy of the last sixty years has been too much for the Duke's digestion, and he cannot be a party to " asking the people of this country to reverse, annul, and delete altogether from their maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes."

October 4th.—I saw Sandars yesterday evening, whose account of what has happened is not altogether consistent with the foregoing narration : he affirms most positively that, notwithstanding the statements of the retiring Ministers, it was mentioned at the Cabinet on the 12th that Chamberlain contemplated going ; indeed, he goes so far as to say that a large number of Mr. Balfour's colleagues are willing to aver that this was so. A difference of

opinion on a point of such importance is very hard to explain; certainly the Duke never realised the possibility of such an event, as, when the Prime Minister mentioned it later, he heard him with the greatest surprise. Of course, if the eventuality was discussed, it relieves Mr. Balfour of all suspicion of having dealt hardly with his colleagues, and we can only suppose that they regarded it as an hypothesis not likely to be realised. Sandars also stated that the Duke's original letter of resignation was in more unqualified terms than I had been given to understand; but that may be largely a matter of interpretation, upon which two parties to the controversy may be allowed to differ. At any rate, Sandars avers most strongly that, if forced to defend himself, the Prime Minister has a complete answer to his critics, and one which, if published, will place the Duke's action in a somewhat unfavourable light. If, in his opinion, the Duke feels that he made a mistake in dissociating himself from his colleagues, after their more or less concerted action, it would be better for him to say so and base his resignation upon the desire to do himself justice in that particular, rather than rest the issue on the Sheffield speech. At all events, Sandars does not think that the Duke's going will retard the completion of the piece of patchwork upon which the Prime Minister is engaged: he appears to believe that there is material for reconstruction in great richness and variety, and that the fiscal reformers of both schools will draw a breath of relief at the removal of the Duke's restraining influence. Among those available he mentioned Lord Salisbury, and spoke highly of his judgment. Stanley has been induced to stay, and Londonderry and Finlay are supposed to be the only two others who will go. I shall be sorry for Victor Cavendish if involved in the Duke's retirement. He had been offered, and accepted, the Secretaryship of the Treasury, an offer that would have tested his administrative capacity and proved very agreeable to everybody concerned. Great difficulty has been experienced over the King's reluctance to accept Arnold Forster at the War Office, particularly as the Prime Minister deplores that he should be already committed to schemes of reform that may not commend themselves to his colleagues. I do not understand why he does not insist on George Wyndham taking the place.

October 5th.—I have seen the Duke's letter of resignation: it is the production of a man who feels that he is suffering from the consequences of an error of judgment, and is therefore laboured in form and sometimes perfunctory in tone. There was no lack, however, of decision about it, only an ill-concealed conviction that it would have been better for him not to have been so easily persuaded a fortnight ago. It would even appear that some formal expression of confidence in the value of Free Trade to the commercial requirements of the country, if included in Mr.

Balfour's speech, would have satisfied him; but the root of the difference goes deeper, and it is his long-cherished belief that the Prime Minister occupies a precarious foothold on the inclined plane leading to Protection which has in the last resort governed his action. The Prime Minister addressed to him a cipher telegram of reproachful appeal yesterday, and Stanley, who was with him at Compton Place, thinks that he might have again wavered if the Prime Minister had been there. That, I believe, is to do him an injustice, and, further, leaves out of account other influences. At any rate, he telegraphed in reply confirming his position, and there the matter must rest. The Prime Minister is deeply hurt, and, in a long letter of dignified and almost affectionate reproach, has put his case. It will probably be published, so that I need say no more than that it sums up very effectually the situation from his point of view, and is dialectically a triumphant examination of the Duke's scruples and the inadequacy of the causes which have led to his present decision. Apart from external influences, this discord between the two men arises out of a fundamental antagonism in their approach to the subject: with the best intentions towards a mutual understanding, the flexibility of the one is a puzzle to the other, and the ingrained submission of the Duke's mind to the traditions of his political education awakens no response within the Prime Minister's order of ideas. They have come to the point where no mutual esteem can bridge over the gulf that separates two distinct categories of thought, and their ultimate divergence was therefore inevitable. It is pathetic to read the Duke's expressions of regret on leaving a Government with whose policy on all other points he was in complete agreement, and the only possible verdict on the event is an endorsement of that regret.

I received from Sandars a list of the changes. Arnold Forster goes to the War Office, where his great ability will have every scope for its display, and where he may do great things if he can get people to work with him and for him: at any rate, he will have the whole force of the Government behind him in cleaning the Augean stables. Alfred Lyttelton—and this is the surprise of the arrangement—goes to the Colonial Office. His experience in dealing with the Rand Mines Concessions gave him a grasp of South African problems which in some respects equips him to succeed Mr. Chamberlain. Salisbury is not to be Lord President; the King thinks Londonderry would be a better choice.

October 8th.—I am now able to record the text of the Duke's telegram to the Prime Minister, in reply to his complaint that he had been unfairly treated by the Duke's resignation and that his speech had been incorrectly understood.

"Deeply regret you should think my conduct unfair to yourself. I could admit, if it would do any good, that your corre-

spondence with Chamberlain ought to have opened my eyes, and that I ought to have resigned before. But, as I said in my letter, it is on the tone and tendency of the speech that I must form my own judgment, and, feeling it impossible to take your view of its character, or to adopt or defend in Parliament its positive declaration, I must adhere to my decision. I may be open to the charge of inconsistency, but no injury which this may have caused to the party could acquit that which I should inflict upon it by insincere or half-hearted defence of your policy."

The rejoinder to this was the Prime Minister's expression of wounded feeling which has been published. The Duke contemplates no reply, but has intimated to Mr. Balfour that he may recur to the subject on some future occasion; and, in the meantime, they are both disposed to meet each other in a spirit of cordial good-will. This mutual attitude may have an important bearing on the position of Victor Cavendish, who is not indisposed to remain, and is to see the Duke on the subject this afternoon. Meanwhile, Finlay is said to be going. I joined him on leaving Devonshire House late on Monday evening, and asked him what he thought of the position, mentioning that I had heard doubts expressed as to his intentions. "Oh," he replied, "I shall stay as long as Devonshire does." Whereupon I informed him that the Duke's resignation would be announced in a few hours. He was much interested, and somewhat disturbed; and no wonder, as, if the party keeps together for six months, he may have the reversion of the Chancellorship. But Finlay has a very sensitive conscience, and he may be proof against temptation.

October 8th.—In writing to the Duke two days ago, I said: "Apart from the conviction of grave public loss which your resignation awakens, I hope I may be permitted to dwell for a moment on its more personal aspect, and to express my deep and immitigable regret at the severance of the official bond which I have so greatly valued. It is not given to many public servants to owe allegiance to the same chief for more than eight consecutive years, but, however inadequately I may have performed my part, I cannot recall a single incident that diminishes in the slightest degree the pleasure and pride which I shall always take in having served under you. Your support and your consideration were always granted in unstinted measure to your subordinates, and you leave with them the sense of most affectionate and grateful obligation."

Dunville tells me he was very pleased with my letter, and his reply contained these words: "Many thanks for your very kind letter. It is a great satisfaction to me, on leaving office, to know that I have been instrumental in placing you in a post for which you have proved yourself in every way admirably fitted. . . ."

The Duke came to London with the object, among other

things, of attending the Council, but we had already heard that by the King's desire the Prime Minister was to take his place. This created a rather awkward situation. I therefore saw Selborne, who had been the vehicle of the King's instructions to the Prime Minister, and asked him what I might convey to the Duke. He replied that, solely with a view to studying the Duke's convenience, and on his own initiative, His Majesty had intimated that he would dispense with his attendance ; and this communication I transmitted to the Duke. In writing to Knollys later in the evening, I took occasion to mention that the Duke had returned to London in readiness for the Council, and would have been present but that he understood His Majesty's instructions to Lord Selborne pointed to other arrangements. In the result the King gave the Duke a special audience after the Council, and no one's susceptibilities were injured.

October 9th.—Council at Buckingham Palace. On a hint from the Prime Minister, the court officials received His Majesty's orders to keep the outgoing and incoming Ministers, so far as possible, in water-tight compartments. This might have answered if there had been no cross divisions affecting their mutual feelings ; but it led to Chamberlain being folded with the Free-trade martyrs, a situation full of serio-comic openings. On Chamberlain's leaving the Presence, he returned to the room where these gentlemen were waiting, much to the discomfort of Ritchie. Lord Balfour and George Hamilton put a good face on it, and behaved like gentlemen whose innate good-breeding rendered them unconscious of past rancours ; but Ritchie took up a position behind a pillar, whence in melodramatic gloom he glared fixedly upon the villain of the piece, who was quite undisturbed by the demonstration.

A further ridiculous development followed when, Chamberlain expressing a desire to see the Prime Minister, I offered to take him to the next room, where he was, with Austen, Alfred Lyttelton, and the rest ; but Horace Farquhar,[1] with prodigious seriousness, declared in an awestruck whisper that it would not do, and insisted upon bringing the Prime Minister into the room occupied by his dissentient colleagues. I tried to make him understand that Chamberlain would be perfectly happy in the other fold, but he would not depart from the rigid adherence to the letter of the King's wishes, and the Prime Minister was brought in, and he and "Joe" fell on each other's neck in the sight of all men.

The King gave Chamberlain a very long audience, but the valedictory interviews with the others were got over quickly.

The Duke came to the office in the afternoon. He rehearsed very simply the considerations which had led him to go, and had not the slightest misgiving upon his having taken the only course which was open to him. He regretted the circumstances

[1] Sir Horace Farquhar, Master of the Household.

that had given rise to the Prime Minister's remonstrance, but, with the fullest desire to do him justice, could not subscribe to his contention that the Sheffield speech did not go much further than he had anticipated : the form and emphasis of the declarations then made created in his mind no doubt as to their deliberation, and forced him to the conclusion that he must either resign or undertake the advocacy of a policy he condemned. He was very cheerful, and greatly amused by the account I gave him of the proceedings at the Council ; he also evinced much interest in what I could tell him of the preparations for the Physical Degeneration Committee, and left promising to see me again before his retirement became substantive by the appointment of his successor, who, I understand, will be Londonderry. The Duke having raised no obstacle to Victor Cavendish's staying as Secretary of the Treasury, gives the strongest proof of the singleness of purpose that has guided him through all these transactions, and of his wish to deal fairly, not to say generously, with the Prime Minister.

October 12*th*.—Late last night Knollys sent me instructions from the King that I was to summon a Council for four o'clock this afternoon, for the purpose of swearing Arnold-Forster and installing him as Secretary of State. It is said that His Majesty was determined to take the first opportunity of his leaving a sick-bed to see him, before he was got at by the military side of the War Office. At any rate, he arrived looking more dead than alive, but very grateful to His Majesty for arranging matters in a way that was agreeable to him, and certainly nothing could be more considerate and kind than the King's treatment of him, both at the Council and in asking him to stay for an audience afterwards.

Brodrick has taken very seriously his transfer from the War Office to the India Office. He deprecated the changes by which A. Forster and Bromley-Davenport were to be brought in after his popular and beneficent rule, being particularly strong on the indignity to the Commander-in-Chief involved in the transaction. Lord Roberts, on being consulted, behaved like a perfect gentleman, and said that, whatever the reputation of Mr. Arnold-Forster as a critic of military administration, he was prepared to welcome him and work with him in the interests of the Army, and would be the first to recognise his keenness in the cause of Army Reform, if he was satisfied that he was actuated by a desire to promote its efficiency. As to his alleged want of manner, he added, with a twinkle in his eye, they were not altogether unaccustomed to awkward manners in the War Office, and he anticipated no difficulty on that score.

October 17*th*.—The Prime Minister has written a very friendly letter to the Duke of Devonshire, in which he expresses his regret

if, in the communication addressed to him on his resignation, he had written with too great warmth, and ends up with an assurance that nothing that had or could happen impaired in the slightest degree his personal regard. The most curious document in their correspondence, at the last stage, is the cipher telegram in which the Prime Minister replied to the first intimation of the Duke's intentions. Therein he declares, with great emphasis, that the Sheffield speech was a Free-trade speech, not going beyond the White Paper by a hair's-breadth, and repeating the repudiation of economic heresies contained in the notes. He further asserted that his conversations with the Duke had clearly indicated a line of policy from which he had never deviated.

In Mr. Morley's "Life of Gladstone," at the height of the Home Rule controversy, it is stated that an effort was made to get Lord Hartington's assent to the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill on the understanding that it should not be proceeded with for that Session. "No," was the reply, "Mr. Gladstone and I do not mean the same thing." And it was the conviction, that he and the Prime Minister did not mean the same thing, that dictated his action a fortnight ago.

It is all the more curious that in the initial stages of the controversy the Prime Minister sought the Duke's support in stemming the tide of Chamberlainism; his language in condemnation of J. C. was as strong as any that has been used on either side: indeed, on one occasion he went so far as to say: "his [Chamberlain's] conduct as a Minister has been all that it should not have been."

I met Winston Churchill at luncheon at Devonshire House, where he was arranging with the Duke the reconstitution of the Free Food League on terms which would secure the Duke's adhesion. The name is to be dropped, and the organisation absorbed in a league of a wider free-trade description. The change of name particularly recommended itself to the Duke, who had seen the league designated "Free Fooders," which he very properly thought a disagreeable name. Winston Churchill was very despondent about saving even a remnant of the Conservative Party from the contagion of Protection. In his constituency, and he believed in every other, the organisation and the popular feeling would be arrayed on the side of Mr. Chamberlain, and it was only by appealing to the Liberal opposition that they would obtain audiences. In reference to his and Hugh Cecil's approaching visit to Birmingham, he said the most stringent boycott was threatened against anyone who aided or abetted the meeting, and every conceivable social and political pressure was being exercised to frustrate free discussion.

By a most inconvenient pact between the King and Londonderry, the latter's declaration as Lord President is to be made

at Wynyard during the King's visit next week, and I shall have to travel five hundred miles in twenty-four hours, at a moment when I am particularly busy, in order to assist at a ceremony that will occupy ten seconds.

October 19th.—Wynyard. A record has been established to-day, the King having held two Councils, at 11 a.m. and 10.30 p.m. respectively, on the same day, more than two hundred and fifty miles apart. Nothing particular distinguished the first, at which Salisbury received the Privy Seal and was sworn a Privy Councillor. I came down by the King's train at two o'clock from King's Cross, which did the distance to Thorpe Thewles in five minutes under the five hours. Mensdorff and the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire were the only other passengers.

Lord Londonderry and his son met us at the station, and on reaching Wynyard we found most of the party lingering over tea in the library. The King told me he would hold the Council immediately after dinner, and was much interested to hear that, so far as we had been able to trace, the last occasion on which a Council had been held in a country house belonging to a subject was in October 1625, when Charles I held one at Wilton, the Lord Pembroke of the day being his Chamberlain. Lady Londonderry was greatly excited over the event, and was particularly pleased to learn that the King desired the documents connected with the Council to be headed " At the Court at Wynyard," which is indeed the old style.

The party assembled for dinner at 8.45 included the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, Lord and Lady Shaftesbury, Lord and Lady Crewe, Mensdorff, Kintore, Walter Long and Lady Doreen, Mrs. George Keppel, Lady Helen Stavordale, Castlereagh, Fritz Ponsonby, Seymour Fortescue, and Eddy Hamilton. There is a fine suite of rooms here, and the house is entered by a hall of sculpture, which is imposing enough by artificial light. Daylight, however, reveals that most of the figures are plaster casts of celebrated pieces that were destroyed in the fire some sixty years ago. The dining-room has fair and stately proportions, and some of the pictures—notably Hoppner's celebrated " Miranda " in the library—give distinction to the walls of this and other parts of the house.

Immediately the ladies had left the dining-room the King called to me to say that the Duke of Devonshire would take his old part: " He will assist at his own funeral," as His Majesty put it, with great good-humour.

After the Council three bridge tables were set up, at one of which were the King, the Duchess, Mrs. Keppel, and Seymour Fortescue, and most of the rest played poker. Fortunately Lady Shaftesbury had other tastes, and I talked to her for more than

an hour, without, I hope, tiring her. At any rate, I found it very pleasant.

After the ladies had gone to bed the King spent half an hour very agreeably with us before he retired. The Duke told him of the last duty he had entrusted to me as Chairman of the Committee relating to the health and physique of the population, which he thought more important than tariffs, and His Majesty showed great interest in the subject.

October 20th.—I returned to London. His Majesty was very late for breakfast, but no one waited for him, and he came in quite unconcernedly in the middle of the meal. He went out shooting about 10.30, and I took a walk in the gardens with Mensdorff before it was time to start. The surroundings of the place are heavy and unattractive, and the atmosphere gloomy with Middlesbrough smoke.

October 21st.—The first meeting of the Deterioration Committee gave promise of a satisfactory course to the Enquiry. Some of my colleagues are first-rate, notably Legge of the Home Office, and I do not think I shall have any difficulty in guiding the team. A good deal of time was necessarily consumed in conversation of a more or less desultory type, but on the whole we made good use of a first meeting. My investigations into the past history of Councils in private houses has not carried me much further. Charles II constantly held Councils at Worcester House when the residence of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and five or six Councils took place at Sion in July 1665; but whether the King was at that time the guest of the owner, or was keeping his own Court in a house placed at his disposal during the prevalence of the plague, I have not yet been able to discover, and must apply to Percy for information.

October 28th.—This morning, while occupied at my table in the Privy Council Office, the door stealthily opened for the admission, first, of the upper part of a woman's headgear, then of her hair, a pair of amused eyes which I still failed to recognise, and then the revelation of Lady Londonderry's head. She had apparently left his room on a voyage of discovery, and, having found somebody to talk to, ensconced herself in my arm-chair, and was eloquent on fifty subjects in half the number of minutes. The zest with which she throws herself into the political interests and movements of the hour will help her to keep the position won by her beauty. With apt intellectual equipment, she has industry and readiness, which, with the warmth and *élan* of very agreeable manners, will carry her far. At any rate, wherever she is, she intends to be reckoned with, and, constituted as the world is, she will probably have her reward.

October 29th.—Chamberlain's campaign continues to be conducted with a great deal of local *tapage*, but I very much doubt

whether the vibrations of his eloquence reach far beyond the carefully prepared medium on which they first fall. The smiling, nay, sometimes scornful, reiteration of controverted figures and disputable inferences fails to carry conviction, and, but for the rigidity with which his opponents cling to their old-fashioned armoury and invoke with tiresome fidelity the somewhat outworn traditions of Cobdenism, I should say that he is not making appreciable way in the constituencies. When at Knowsley the other day for his Liverpool speech, he discarded all reticence in describing the relations between himself and his late colleagues, and declared that all the present Cabinet were with him heart and soul, except Londonderry, "who does not count." Lord Derby, who was brought up in an older and statelier tradition, was not pleased, and had some difficulty in concealing his scanty appreciation of such methods. Chamberlain is also very violent in his denunciation of the Board of Education, whose "rotten" policy he holds responsible for much of the Government's unpopularity, which he foresaw and predicted. Considering who was the inspirer and director of that policy, he is making the Prime Minister a poor return for the patience and toleration with which he has been treated.

I met Winston Churchill and Hugh Cecil this evening, stealing through an obscure street in Westminster, the last looking for all he was worth like a conspirator out of pay. The arrangements for their meeting at Birmingham are now complete; a Unionist chairman has been found, and a certain number of Unionist Free Traders with the courage of their convictions will be present, notwithstanding the rigid boycott maintained by the dominant faction.

October 31*st.*—The relatively little attention which the publication of Mr. Gladstone's "Life" has excited is remarkable. In John Morley's hands the book has, of course, been done as well as possible, and his own reflections are worth the gravest study. But it is the failure to revive any great interest in the hero that is conspicuous. It seems as if Mr. Gladstone's character, like his eloquence, was only calculated to produce a contemporary impression; it was a *pièce d'occasion*, the needs of which, once exhausted, the onlooker is left critical and unmoved. Except in certain spheres of ecclesiastical controversy, I doubt whether the authority of Mr. Gladstone is ever invoked. Literature and philosophy, in any wide sense of the words, had no attractions for him, and he left no contributions to the permanent thought of his day, or to the stock of phrases that enrich the language of a race. The disproportion between his moral energies and their results is the most striking and at the same time most melancholy lesson to be derived from the study of his life.

November 7th.—The Duke of Devonshire and the Prime Minister

met, for the first time since their split, at dinner last night with Consuelo, Duchess of Manchester, and according to Austen Chamberlain, who was present, evinced the greatest cordiality towards each other. Of course their demeanour was very closely scrutinised by the company, and I am advised the Duke's impression was that the Prime Minister showed some constraint. However, they are really on the best possible footing, as A. J. B. is going to Chatsworth as usual for the Christmas theatricals, the Duchess having made a special point of asking him. While not blinking the political separation that has unfortunately occurred, the Prime Minister replied in a spirit of graceful banter which was probably lost on Her Grace, with her curious inflexibility to colloquial chaff.

Fortunately the Honours List on the 9th is to be short: no Peers, no Privy Councillors; as few, in effect, of the bigger sops to greed and intrigue as possible. I took the opportunity of mentioning to Sandars Hylton's name for seconding the Address. It appears the matter is settled between the Prime Minister and the leader in the House of Lords. Sandars received the suggestion well, and promised to bear it in mind, recalling laughingly that they had already met my wishes by giving Hamilton the Treasurership of the Household. I told him that Hylton's ability far transcended his taste for self-advertisement, and that he was in sympathy with the Prime Minister's declaration of policy.

November 10*th*.—The Guildhall Banquet fell rather flat. The Lord Mayor, being the brother of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, could not feel very cordially disposed to His Majesty's Ministers, and from whatever cause the Prime Minister seemed burdened and depressed. His eulogium on Lord Salisbury was eloquent and charged with feeling; from no part of his speech, indeed, were reminiscences of the dead statesman absent. There was the same note of inevitableness in the survey of foreign affairs, the same implied scepticism of the efforts of European statesmanship to effect much, the same settled gravity of outlook, which might arise from intellectual despondency, but had also about it the suggestion of physical fatigue. There was a touch, too, of personal bitterness in his scornful dismissal of those who brought to the fiscal controversy "the ignorance and want of charity with which they discussed their religious convictions"—but I cannot say the impression produced was as deep: the rich maturity of Lord Salisbury's judgment was wont to penetrate all his utterances, and, in listening to his grave dissent from current sophistries, we bowed before a far-seeing sagacity that seemed to sweep a wider horizon than ours. Choate was amusing, but he is apt now to assume too readily the rôle of professional *farceur*, though the quaintness with which he invited the Lord Mayor to visit St. Louis next year and reproduce the Lord Mayor's

Show in the heart of America, was irresistible. He touched a high note at the end in a stately panegyric on Michael Herbert, suggesting that, as a *monumentum ære perennius*, his name should be given to some mountain on the Alaskan Frontier that lifted " its sublime and soaring summit to the Arctic skies."

Buckle, of " The Times," was next me, and, though his journal is supporting Chamberlain for all it is worth, expressed great doubt whether he would carry the masses with him at the polls ; he did not see how an election could be postponed beyond another year.

I drove home with Chalmers,[1] who has a good deal of wit. He compared the Prime Minister's letter to the Duke of Devonshire to the despairing wail of a young woman who has been thrown over two days before her marriage, and has some reason to believe that she has been left in the family way.

November 12th.—We are at Elvetham this week for two days' shooting. I went to London this day in order to attend the nomination of Sheriffs, and was thus able to take part in the memorial service held at St. James's Palace for " Monty " Corry. Few were better loved in their generation, and none deserved it better. A natural *bonté*, which included all classes and conditions, and a charm of manner that was inexpressibly winning, created a personality as rare as it was attractive.

Selborne came over to the Office at one o'clock, to enquire about some Order in Council of 1855, which he believed the Admiralty had misinterpreted ever since ; and I only just got away in time to reach the Royal Courts for luncheon with the Lord Chief Justice : the Chancellor of the Exchequer was already there. The L. C. J. took advantage of the moment to press on Austen Chamberlain the necessity of providing for another Judge. Austen gave a wonderful account of his father's vitality in meeting the strain of his fiscal agitation. The personality of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer attracted a large concourse of spectators to the Court.

November 14th.—I saw the Duke at the Travellers' ; he fears Chamberlain is making headway, and no doubt, so far as his influence with the L.U. goes, he has captured two-thirds of them, both in Parliament and in the country. The Duke seemed puzzled at Beach's attitude in identifying himself so closely with the Prime Minister, while protesting as strongly as ever against the Josephan embroideries of the authorised programme. Party pressure in his constituency accounts for much, and he may believe that, the more the Prime Minister's hand is strengthened, the more easy it will be to relegate Chamberlain to a back seat.

November 16th.—Council to-day at Buckingham Palace, 3 p.m. :

[1] Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, Under-Secretary of State, Home Office, 1903–8.

on the King's way from Sandringham to Windsor; Declaration of consent was given to the marriage of *Princess Alice of Albany.* The previous day I had had a telegram from Knollys: "By the King's order I have just telegraphed to Lord Selborne to say His Majesty will be unable to give his assent to Memo. respecting promotion at the Council to-morrow, as he has not had sufficient time to consider it properly." I cannot but think the King was ill-advised in taking so strong a step, though it indicates an intention to utilise the opportunity constitutional practice gives him to make his influence felt in naval affairs.

I had called Knollys's attention to the character of the Order in sending him the list of business, as I deem it my duty to do whenever matters of importance are proposed. I saw Knollys afterwards, who said the King was determined not to be rushed in matters of the kind, and, as to the urgency of the matter, he agreed with me it could well wait over till the next Council. Hamilton[1] and Sir M. Durand were waiting to kiss hands after the Council. Londonderry did fairly well, considering he never waits to have anything explained to him, for as soon as any word is mentioned which suggests an order of ideas with which he is familiar, he goes off with great volubility on his own account, without pausing to consider the applicability of what he has to say to the subject in hand: with all he is so nice and spontaneous, that one has to put up with it smilingly.

Noel Corry, who is his uncle's executor, and, after certain legacies have been paid, his sole heir, came to see me this morning as to the disposal of certain of the papers left in his hands. All the Disraeli documents pass, under Lord Beaconsfield's will, to the trustees, Lord Rothschild and Sir P. Rose; but there are vast masses of the Queen's letters to Lord B. which stand in a different category. The Queen, from 1874 to his death, seems to have written to him without reserve on every conceivable subject, personal and political, and, as to these, Noel is directed by Rowton's will to take the King's pleasure. One fact comes out from such perusal as he has been able to give them, and that is the persistent and unremitting interference of Prince Leopold in matters of State. Not content with influencing the Queen's action in its relation to individuals, he appears to have aimed at being her political guide, and, where the range of her political information was not extensive, his intervention was often the cause of acute difficulty and always of friction. There are also a large assortment of the Queen's letters to Rowton himself, who, during the last ten or fifteen years of her life, stood to her in most confidential relations, which his superlative tact and self-effacement never permitted to become a grievance. These letters he has been directed to go through and burn, without reading

[1] On appointment as Treasurer of the Household.

anything that looks as if it was meant to meet no other eyes—a sufficiently arduous discretion to exercise. I advised him, before making the existence of these known to the King, to take Edwards into his confidence, who, as the Queen's most trusted and confidential servant and only executor, outside the Royal Family, was in the best position to give him counsel, and might be depended upon for the most loyal assistance that devotion to the Queen's memory could supply. This he will probably do, and I have promised, if he decides to take that course, to bring him and Edwards together.

November 17th.—I presided at the second meeting of the Physical Deterioration Committee, and got through a lot of business. The War Office have made their position plainer and it will be possible, with the aid of the Medical Bodies, to investigate their case from the point of view of national health. They have included some tables which will be a valuable addendum to the report.

At dinner with Julia Lady Tweeddale we met Milner. He looked worn but well. His anxieties about South Africa are pressing, and, with the outlook such as he described it, I am not surprised at his refusal to lay down the direction of affairs for the Colonial Secretaryship. He was most emphatic in demanding rest for the country, and patience from his critics. The Boer farmer is, he thinks, settling down into a loyal and contented subject of the Crown, but the memory of old rancours does not disappear in a day, and five years at least are needed of freedom from racial agitation to accustom him to the new order of things. The Dutch element in the towns is, he admits, bitter and turbulent; their political occupation is gone, and they seek in intrigue and adventure an outlet for their energies. With them, however, he believes that the beneficent influences of time will not be without their effect, particularly when the labour question is solved and the industrial activities of the country are in full play.

The labour question thus becomes of equal political and economic importance. Lord Milner spoke with some bitterness of the obstacles encountered in connection with every proposal for the introduction of labour, and found it particularly difficult to understand the attitude of the Viceroy of India in prohibiting the importation of Indian coolies. Some assistance is to be looked for from British Central Africa, but there is no immediate prospect of the deficiency being met: some 70 to 80 per cent. upon the present supply is wanted. He believed in the good qualities of the Kaffir as a workman, and was as confident as ever in the richness of the country and the almost indefinite expansion that might be given to its industrial resources. He instanced the change that British administration has produced in Egypt since he was first in that country, and had a letter from

Lord Cromer in his pocket declaring that he was *embarrassed* by its wealth.

November 19th.—The reception of the King and Queen of Italy at the Guildhall gave occasion for a most emphatic affirmation of the friendship existing between the two countries. The King, though small in person and therefore easily overlooked in a crowd, has great dignity, and impresses you as a man of force and capacity, while the Queen is both stately and gracious in manner. The King's description of himself as the ambassador of the good-will of Italy towards this country was very well received, and both he and the Italians in his suite appeared pleased at the warmth of the welcome accorded them. The *déjeuner* was exceptionally good, and served with commendable despatch. I was between the Governor of the Bank of England and the President of the Royal Academy: another instance of the variety of one's experience at these functions. The Governor of the Bank, strong Liberal and Free Trader as he is, was constrained to admit that Chamberlainism was increasing in the City, and Austen, who gave me a lift back, professed to be extremely well satisfied with the way his father was making in the country. I told him what I had heard from the Duke of Devonshire, that the manufacturers of the north did not complain of the difficulty of finding markets for their output, but were in many cases unable to meet the demands for their products, owing to the impossibility of finding sufficient labour: a condition of things that impeded the development of industry, and was not likely to be improved by the restriction of imports. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's reply was that, if that was so, it would not last long, as his information went to show that we were entering on a period of acute depression and that the excellent Trade Returns of October could only be taken to represent the remnants of a period of prosperity.

Sir E. Poynter told me that the Royal Academy were trying to organise an exhibition of Lawrences this winter, but found so far owners very slow in making offers. To my suggestion that the Academy should do more to encourage engravers, he said that the difficulty of detecting the genuine mezzotint from work based largely on photogravure process was so great that the best experts gave up the task of distinguishing them in despair.

November 21st.—I made the acquaintance of Count de Lalaing, the new Belgian Minister, who talks English better than any foreigner I ever met, and has very courteous and pleasing manners. I reminded him of a fact I had happened to note some years ago, when studying the records of the first century of the Order of the Golden Fleece, that members of his family had figured largely in rolls of the Order. He said no less than eleven had been Knights, and was evidently much flattered at the fact having claimed attention. He gave me much interesting information about the

political conditions of Belgium, the triumph of the Moderate Catholic party being due, (1) to the mistake the Liberals had made in seeking the electoral support of the Socialists, and (2) to the repudiation of ultramontanism in every shape and form. The position was not very stable, but the qualities of the heir presumptive, who is a thoughtful and prudent man, afforded the best security for its maintenance. Looking across the border to France, he feared the dissolution of the Concordat was inevitable, and doubted the Church's ability to make head against the forces of secularism. This is a question of the deepest interest, and one that may be settled in our day. Lalaing evidently does not believe much in the strength to be derived from the patronage of the Church by literary and aristocratic *coteries*: the issue depended more on financial considerations, and, except in certain parts of the west and south of France, the people would not pay for the support of the clergy. On the other hand, the Catholic Church has a way of emerging from such difficulties. The French clergy are at the present moment living up to a standard of duty and self-abnegation for which it would not be easy to find a parallel in all the history of the Church, and the prudent policy of the late Pope has placed at the disposal of his successor vast pecuniary resources. I venture to think, Concordat or no Concordat, the Gallican Church is yet in a position to speak with its enemies in the gate.

November 22nd.—I was told to-night the true version of the tergiversation of "The Daily Mail": the idea of Alfred Harmsworth having been at last satisfied by Chamberlain's speeches that his policy would not result in raising the price of food to the people, though officially put forward, being a little thin. It now appears that the attempted pressure on Lord Rosebery to take a line more or less in harmony with Chamberlain at last brought matters to a head, in the shape of a letter from Lord Rosebery that he was not prepared to accept a policy at the dictation of any newspaper. This was too much for the vainglory of the proprietor of the "D.M.," and a day or two afterwards the primrose colours were hauled down and the Blue Peter—or shall we say the "Red Joseph"?—of fiscal reform hoisted in their place.

November 23rd.—A curious scene was to be witnessed in the bow-window of the Lord President's room this morning. For more than two hours Lady Londonderry presided over a departmental consultation as to the steps to be taken in dealing with the Durham County Council in its treatment of the voluntary schools of the county. It is true the Lord President was nominally a party to the conference, but he remained at one end of the table in isolated dignity, while Lady L. held the Permanent Secretary and the subordinate official immediately concerned in close communion. The Bishop of Durham had appealed to Her Ladyship,

and I am informed that she displayed the utmost quickness and mastery of detail in handling the subject, and a power of apprehension of principles that astonished the officials. It is certainly a new departure when a Minister's wife undertakes to look into matters of departmental administration in the very seat of her husband's authority, and leaves to him the simple functions of an interested listener.

I am told that Chamberlain at Windsor last week was splendid. He was the man of the hour, and carried himself as if he knew it. Dilating to high and low on fiscal policy, summoned to explain it at this moment to Kings and the next to Queens, proclaiming to everyone with an easy conviction his certainty of success, he left with the belief, as he boasted on his way up to London, that he had converted the whole Royal Family, and that the Queen was an ardent Protectionist. It is said that, when wanted to talk to the Queen of Italy, he could not be found for some time, and was at last discovered in a small room concluding an animated peroration to an assembly of certain minor royalties. Sir Frank Lascelles, who does not share the enthusiasm of Society for J. C.'s schemes, admits that public feeling in Germany is keenly excited, not to say apprehensive, on the subject, but particularly careful not to give criticism a provocative air : to this extent he believes in the possibility of something resulting to the benefit of the British export trade, as the Germans are so determined to hold the advantages they at present enjoy that they will make some concessions to avert a tariff war. He mentioned one very amusing incident, which shows the extraordinary readiness of the German manufacturer to avail himself of domestic circumstances abroad, in order to push German trade. The Bavarian Minister at Berlin reported that a clockmaker in Bavaria had produced a clock surmounted with a figure of Chamberlain making a speech, which emerged when the clock struck ; one sample of this having been bought and taken to England, the enterprising clockmaker has now received orders for 22,000 clocks of similar pattern. Everything points to the fact that it is the inadaptability of the English manufacturer that is ruining the export trade, at any rate in neutral markets. Lascelles quoted from his experience in Roumania, where the trade in ploughs was entirely lost to England because the manufacturers refused to paint them red ; and Fleetwood Wilson cited a signal instance of German speculative boldness in connection with the export of cheap blankets to the Kaffirs.

November 25th.—The Duke of Devonshire's speech at the Queen's Hall last night testifies to the vigour he is throwing into the fiscal controversy. From all accounts, he has rarely delivered himself with more energy and effect. He sees with perfect clearness that, whatever the Prime Minister may say or do, the struggle

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THE MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY.

is with Mr. Chamberlain ; but it is a pity that the hardening of his attitude towards the Government should be accompanied by a tendency to identify himself with the obstructiveness of ultra Free-trade economics. The deplorable feature of the way in which the issue is presented results in there being no alternative between the use of formulæ, the meaning of which one shrewdly suspects is outworn, and the adoption of speculative theories in their crudest and most contradictory shape. Each party uses figures to mystify rather than inform, and the jargon of their terminology reads like a chapter of evangelical metaphysics.

I dined with the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, and had to return thanks for " the guests." As my previous relations with the Institution had been in connection with the refusal of their application for a charter, I was in a somewhat delicate position ; but at any rate I could claim some knowledge of their operations, and was able to testify to the praiseworthy efforts they had made to raise the standard of technical skill and professional probity.

November 26th.—Lady Tweeddale, Lady Longford, Vivian and Lady Sybil Smith, the Edmund Butlers, Herbert Magniac, and Lionel Ashley dined with us. Cecily Butler's gifts lend a dainty significance to the character of her beauty. Lady Longford has a gentle decision in pronouncing her views, and an air of thoughtfulness that adds to attractions largely residing in the instinctive claims of a charming personality.

November 30th.—The situation in the Far East has become acute. There was a report this morning that a proclamation of neutrality might be necessary at the Council on the 8th ; but this originated in some excess of nervousness on the part of a member of the Foreign Office staff. Lord Lansdowne has had Benckendorff with him at Bowood this Sunday, so he may have produced some impression. The opinion of all on the spot is that Russia is not strong enough on either sea or land to risk a conflict, but she is probably in a position from which retreat is impossible without a blow to her prestige. Japan has a difficulty in manning her fleet, but her strength at sea is nevertheless preponderant. On the other hand, Russia's hold on Manchuria is very precarious ; the effort to maintain the Army of Occupation by means of a single line of rails at such a distance from its base is already proving more than she can do, and, in the event of hostilities with Japan, the Manchurian population are not likely to remain idle, whatever the nominal attitude of the Chinese Government. The atmosphere is charged with electricity, and the situation of the Czar at home may drive him to the most desperate course as offering a momentary relief. Palace and popular intrigues are rife. The Empress's illness is of course not attributable to poison, but the currency that has been given to

the view indicates a readiness to believe in its possibility which is disquieting. The unpopularity from which she suffers is rapidly undermining the Imperial credit.

December 3rd.—I had a serious talk with Haldane this morning about the progress Chamberlain is making. He quite admits it, and is greatly disquieted. He fears the country being rushed into a revolution of its fiscal system, and, the first results not answering popular expectation, a growing demand for still stronger doses of Protection. I told him what I heard from Frank Lascelles as to the apprehensive and correct attitude of Germany, but he did not think the jealousies of the Agrarian and Commercial parties give any ground for hope that negotiations were likely to bring about a modification of tariff in our favour. Sanderson, whom I saw later, does not share this view, and told me a curious story in confirmation of the belief that there is room for a deal within certain limits. It appears that a month or two ago Metternich called upon him, and, with that disagreeable candour which covers his diplomatic manner, warned the Foreign Office of the disastrous effects on German opinion of any change in the system of free imports: he even went so far as to present a note on the subject. Some weeks later, when the German Press had awakened to the risk of a provocative policy, and were cautioning the public against the betrayal of any irritation with Great Britain, even going so far as to maintain her right to approach the question in the interests of her own industrial population, Metternich reappeared, and, ignoring the tenor of his previous communication, represented the German Government as quite disposed to enter upon the discussion of tariff changes in a spirit of conciliation and businesslike reasonableness. As on the previous occasion, Sanderson heard what he had to say in courteous silence, and bowed him out.

December 4th.—I had some talk with Sandars about the Creevey Papers, which are attracting a great deal of interest. He confirmed what I had heard, that the King was very much annoyed with the disclosures affecting the character of the Duke of Kent, and told me that Mrs. Sandars's aunt, the widow of Sir F. Milbank, grandson of the first Duke of Cleveland, was full of reminiscences of his second wife, who figures prominently in Creevey's correspondence. She was a Mrs. Russell, who had lived with the Duke for some time before his marriage, and, as Creevey says, never got over the tendencies to slang and coarseness consequent on her long experience "in the ranks." Creevey calls her a "brazen-faced Pop," and Lady Milbank's souvenirs quite bear out this description. When the Duchess was on her death-bed (she lived into the seventh decade of the century) she was visited by a clergyman who, in the course of a lengthy interview, flattered himself that he had brought her to a proper and salutary frame

of mind. "As the door closed upon his retreating figure, the old sinner woke up and exclaimed, 'Has that damned canting scoundrel gone?' And these were almost her last words."

December 7th.—Some Statutes reached us to-day from All Souls College for submission to the King in Council, and I was moved to a reverent feeling for the piety of the past in observing that their heading referred to "the College of All Souls of the Faithful Departed." For near five hundred years this historic foundation has borne witness to the inexpugnable hope in which successive generations consign their predecessors to the tomb: century takes the place of century, millenary follows millenary, and still this death-sick desire of humanity flushes the faces of the dying and strews the graves of the dead with flowers. *Sic sit semper.*

December 8th.—Council at Buckingham Palace. The Lord President, Clarendon, and Windsor were present. Parliament was prorogued to February 2nd, then to meet for the despatch of business. His Majesty looked cheerful, but did not evince any particular interest in the Bill of Fare submitted to him. The Admiralty Order, over which there was so much fuss three weeks ago, passed *sub silentio.* I saw Lord Lansdowne afterwards at luncheon and got an opportunity of speaking to him about Hylton and the Address. He told me he had already mentioned the subject to the Prime Minister, and shared my view that a man of Hylton's age was much more likely to turn to account the footing that such an experience gave him than a younger man, who looked upon it as a source of momentary interest and never returned to a place in the Chamber for years.

December 13th.—In August last the Prime Minister said that if the Left (i.e. the Duke of Devonshire and his adherents) deserted him, he would be in a position of great difficulty, though he still hoped to have strength to cope with it. It becomes every day more apparent that the force of the current in favour of fiscal reform is setting in the direction of Mr. Chamberlain, and that the Prime Minister's formulæ make no way in the constituencies. The action of the Duke of Devonshire as President of the Free Food League, has brought all the laboured mystification of the last few weeks to the touchstone of fact. By recommending no Unionist to vote for a candidate who declares himself in sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain, he makes Protection the test of political faith. The Duke is throwing himself into the campaign with an ardour that surprises those about him, and amply justifies Gould's picture of the Dormouse waking up: he presided at a conference for nearly two hours at Devonshire House a day or two ago, when the line to be taken in the constituencies was determined. Beach, to his infinite discomfort, took part in the deliberations, and, though he expressed his own preference for

a Protectionist rather than a Radical, failed to impress his views on the meeting, which, including Goschen, Ritchie, and George Hamilton, was in favour of making common cause with the Opposition in all constituencies where the Unionist organisation had been captured by J. C. Winston Churchill, who can find no platform on which to address his constituents, except the box-seat of a cab, asked the Duke's opinion whether he should accept an invitation to speak for the Opposition candidate in Ludlow; but for this His Grace declined to make himself responsible. Some forty to fifty Unionist members of Parliament were present, and those whose seats are hopeless were all for the most violent courses. Hugh Cecil flatters himself he may retain Greenwich by the aid of the Radicals, but admitted that the Education Act created a serious difficulty.

December 14th.—I am told one of the principal features of the Session will be an attack on Lord Lansdowne. The very qualities that make him so attractive a personality to his friends add venom to the resentment of which he will be made the object. Average opinion, particularly military opinion, cannot forgive a courtesy *de grand seigneur* which is a perpetual reflection on the want of good manners that characterises the intercourse of Englishmen among themselves. As someone said not long ago, "I prefer the brutality of Beach to the damned dignity of the other"; and this judgment is representative of the school that made a hero of Sir Redvers Buller because he was rough and uncouth. I deplore the tendency, for there is no more sensitive and stainless soul in English politics than Lord Lansdowne, and he will be sorely wounded by the virulence of his detractors. The chivalry of the Prime Minister will, at any rate, be roused in his defence, and it will be pleasanter work breaking lances in his cause than labouring to convince the House of Commons that it was wrong in its estimate of St. John Brodrick.

A curious "bridge" story about the Duke of Devonshire is in circulation. It befell him the other day to play with a lady who, while awaiting the Duke's declaration, said: "Of course you will make no trumps!" Upon which the Duke made some other declaration, and, to the fury of his partner, proceeded deliberately to lose every trick. Having read his partner this lesson, he growled out at the end: "I shall do this every time if you are not careful." It is not unlike him to show his resentment at unfair dealing in this exemplary fashion.

December 16th.—The elections in South London have gone in favour of the Government candidates by majorities which, having regard to the character of the constituencies, are disquieting evidence of the spread of Chamberlainism. In both Dulwich and Lewisham people with very modest fixed incomes are a preponderant class, and here, if anywhere, you might expect a large

falling off in the Unionist vote, as both candidates declared themselves in sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain. It is true that this has happened to some extent in Dulwich, but local circumstances and the antecedents of Rutherford Harris had a good deal to say to it. Still, on a poll of 78 per cent. he has been returned by 1,400 votes: the clerks and small villa people being apparently prepared to take the risks of anything the Chamberlain policy may produce.

The opinion is gaining ground in well-informed quarters that the lull in Manchuria is due to a desire to postpone the crisis till the spring. In March or April the forces now dormant may be expected to enter a phase of acute activity, and the disposition of Russia to avoid a conflict will be *aux prises* with a desire on the part of Japan to bring one on; so that the second quarter of 1904 may be pregnant with events of the first magnitude.

A friend of mine at dinner the other night was told by a lady he knew very slightly, in illustration of the malicious way in which people talked, that she was said to have gone wrong with ——— before she married ———; but she assured him it was not the case! He could only reply that he was pleased to have this assurance!

December 18*th*.—The Physical Deterioration Committee took evidence for the second time. Last week the War Office view, supplemented by the alarmist deductions of Sir F. Maurice, was put before us. The Director-General of the Army Medical Service disavowed the intentions that had been attributed to his memorandum, but admitted that the figures had been so arranged as to give some collateral support to, or at least illustration of, Sir F. Maurice's speculations. He was careful, however, to guard himself against any responsibility for statements of a general character touching the health of the people, and had great difficulty in avoiding the conclusion that the grave facts he had to record were due to the circumstance that in ever-growing proportion the Army drew its recruits from the wastrels and wreckage of society. Sir F. Maurice's evidence was tainted by his tendency to generalise from single instances within his own experience, and to develop hearsay gossip into an elaborate indictment of the physical condition of the masses. He had been much impressed by a story told, on the authority of the Bishop of Stepney, of a bed that was let out in three watches of eight hours apiece three times a day, and occupied during each of those periods by eight persons. On this occasion we spent three hours and a half in the examination of Dr. Eicholz, an M.D. on the Inspectorate of the Board of Education, and were favoured with a wealth of information, conveyed with a resolute air of self-assured confidence that carried great weight. His general conclusions, which embodied opinions drawn from many competent authorities, were

distinctly optimistic. Indeed, in his judgment it might almost be said that it would be as safe to draw conclusions upon the morals of the people from prison statistics as to base a view of their health upon the facts that come within the knowledge of the recruiter. The circumstance that 40 per cent. of the wreckage of English society was yet material good enough to make a soldier was, in his judgment, more creditable to the physique of the English race than anything that could be claimed by Germany, from the fact that only 15 per cent. of her whole population were rejected under the system of conscription. He spoke very strongly on the little influence exercised by hereditary taint in depressing the race if proper measures were taken to counteract it. Some 80 to 90 per cent. of the children were, he believed, born healthy, the degenerate mother sacrificing more than the healthy one to bring her offspring into the world sound: indeed, he detected some mysterious law of heredity by which Nature, in her efforts to preserve the race, was actuated by a determination to give every new life a fresh start—a conclusion which was borne out by the fact that the children of degenerates, transplanted into wholesome surroundings, rapidly lost all traces of transmitted weakness.

December 22nd.—Sanderson persists in thinking the opportunities for a pacifice solution of the Korean imbroglio are not exhausted. The financial obstacle is present with both parties to the controversy, and European diplomacy is active on the side of peace. He admitted that the situation is distinctly more acute than was the case a few days ago, but discards the newspaper rumour that, in the reply to Russia, the Japanese Government have prescribed any time limit for its consideration. On the whole, he still thinks the risks to both disputants are too great to allow the supreme arbitrament until every expedient for delay has been tried and failed. I hope it may be so, as a Council for a Proclamation of Neutrality in the heart of the Christmas holidays is the last thing I pray for.

December 25th.—I went last night to the Catholic Cathedral at Westminster for the midnight mass, which ushered in the Christmas solemnities. The aspect of the vast building lent itself most impressively to the character of the office. Darkness hung in clouds from the domed roof, and stole along the shafts of the columns that separate the side-chapels from the nave, save where a globe of light gave the gaunt projections of the unfinished fabric an intermittent illumination. From the west portal to the apsed sanctuary, the only object on which the eye rested, as it soared into the abysmal gloom, was the colossal exfoliated cross suspended on high, whereon agonised the pale and wasted figure of the Crucified, the floor-space through the whole length of the church being thronged with an anxious and awed crowd. Then began the immemorial chanting of the Mass, that chanting

which was heard in the catacombs of the second century, and whose unforgotten music still thrills the hearts of the twentieth, whether ardent neophytes of an ever-young faith or the weary and despairing heirs of its death-sick hopes. Gradually the cathedral grew full of sound, its undulations broke upon the further walls and seemed returned from a dim space of years as they died away in some deep recess, or dissolved along arcaded marbles; while all the time, beneath the canopy radiant with light, the great drama went on to its appointed end: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei, symbols of almost legendary devotion, each in its ordered plan, palpitant with poetry and aflame with allegory; the pomp of ancient liturgies and the pathos of divine passion united in one stream of heart-piercing harmony and overwhelming emotion. The figures of the officiants, as they flitted fitfully across the brilliantly lighted theatre, gleamed vague and spectral in the vastness of the night that surrounded the central tableau, fit symbol of the obscurity that presses upon every source of the world's illumination; and it was only by a vehement concentration of thought that the whole scene was prevented passing into the atmosphere of hallucination. Indeed, when I left the church at one o'clock and encountered the cold, squalid silence of the street, unbroken by aught but the heavy tramp of the policeman and the weary shuffle of the belated prostitute, I felt like one issuing from a dream.

December 27th.—During the many years I have observed English politics, no twelve months have liberated such forces as these now drawing to a close. The Home Rule issue perhaps applied as great a solvent to party combinations, but it did not so profoundly modify the relations in which prominent statesmen stand towards public opinion as has come to pass through the fiscal controversy. The subtle interplay of parts assumed by the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain has saved Tariff Reform from the fate of Home Rule; and the great majority of the party have been won over by successive allurements; consternation gave way to enquiry, enquiry engendered retaliation, retaliation begot preference, and, at the end of the proper period of incubation, the birth of the infant Protection is promised. Meanwhile the public mind has been accustomed to the successive stages in the growth of the idea, the point of hostile criticism has been blunted or diverted, and Mr. Chamberlain skips from platform to platform, generating the new faith with the ardour of a neophyte and some of the authority of a seer. His possession of the stage, to the exclusion of any rival personality, is the feature and the danger of the situation, not so much in the positive risks that attach to the policy he proclaims, as in the effect it has on his opponents by blinding their judgment and disconcerting their attack. So far as Mr. Chamberlain's critics have

been forced into the open, they have been constrained, out of sheer bewilderment, to give him the tactical advantage at almost every turn. The prominence assumed by the "Free Food League"—a ridiculously named organisation—is hurtful to the cause of any reasonable criticism of Tariff Reform. Man does not live by bread alone, and the question has to be argued and decided on other grounds than the risk of adding a fraction of a farthing to the price of the loaf.

On the whole, the prospect is one of darkness and menace. When we consider the confusion of men's judgments, the selfishness of their aims, the feebleness of their purpose, the blindness of the forces of which they are the agents, the obscurity of the issues towards which they are impelled, the doubt that distracts the minds of many whether there is any issue at all, we can hardly wonder at the hesitation and perplexity that beset them, at the errors that mark their course, or the sinister shadows cast upon its future. The old lights are flickering in the socket, ideas of sacrifice and duty languish in the glare of pushfulness and self-indulgence, waste is the criterion of affluence and notoriety the touchstone of success, vice has only to clothe itself with some specious pseudonym to be honoured, caressed, and applauded, and the modest graces of character are lost in the vulgar endowments of ostentation and rapacity. Not that I would lose sight of the other side of the picture, nor decline to admit that in a society as corrupt as the present there may be a reservoir of virtue sufficient to redeem a whole generation. It is in its women that the hope of the future lies, and I cannot be insensible to the elevation of aim, the dignity of conduct, the purity of purpose, the graceful adherence to a chivalric standard of life, the courageous integrity, the debonair charm, the wisdom, light yet profound, the raillery, pungent yet tactful, the exquisite and sensitive candour that is to be found among them.

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January 2–7.—I spent these days at Duncombe Park, a place I am always glad to revisit. Apart from its claims on my earliest affection and the beauty of its surroundings, life there always appears to be regulated by a stately and impeccable taste which is restful and tranquillising. To the smallest detail, nothing vulgar or mean disturbs the serenity of the outlook, and the current of a quiet existence flows like the waters of some estuary where the presence of the sea is already felt. One wonders how soon the change may come, and young lives and new interests take the place of those I have known so long. Charlie Helmsley's zest in the prospects unfolded by his coming marriage added point to these reflections. His attachment to the place is so great that

I hope he will find in Lady Marjorie Greville both capacity and willingness to share it. Her face suggests strong, if as yet unknown, possibilities, and all will, I trust, go well.

January 15*th.*—The publication of the correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain is another illustration of the last-named's smartness in controversy. He sees very clearly the advantage of preserving the L.U. organisation, which he has already captured, for the purposes of his new campaign, and is determined at all costs to keep it alive, so that whatever prestige it enjoys should be at his service. He accordingly contrives, with great astuteness, to impart an air of detached concern for the views of its members, which are in danger of being ignored by an autocratic and irresponsible President. The Duke, on the other hand, objects strongly to the transfer of the good-will of an association, of which he has been for nearly twenty years the corner-stone, to the furtherance of a policy he has abjured, and thinks dissolution the only alternative if neutrality cannot be observed. From his point of view, it is altogether improper that an organisation called into being for a special purpose, and largely maintained out of funds of which he is sole trustee, should be utilised for ends outside the scope of that trust, and, to those who do not believe that everything should be sacrificed to the success of Mr. Chamberlain's schemes, there is a great deal of force in his contention; but the turn given to the controversy by J. C.'s dexterity has lent the Duke's action the appearance of being dictated by a desire to proclaim himself the Alpha and Omega of Liberal Unionism. Mr. Chamberlain is an excellent judge of the uses of the long spoon, and has made the most of the Duke's candour and indifference to dialectical subtlety.

January 16*th.*—I was glad to hear this morning that Hylton had been asked to second the Address. I was pretty certain, a day or two ago, that the offer would be made, and am very pleased at the result of such action as I took. I have not the least doubt, when the speech is delivered, we shall be able to say, *Finis coronat opus.*

January 18*th.*—The Physical Deterioration Committee resumed its sittings with the examination of Charles Booth. I was disappointed by his unwillingness to commit himself to any definite steps of a legislative or administrative character arising out of the conclusions to which his investigations have conducted him. Indeed, he appears to attach so much value to local independence and initiative that, to the suggestion that he would rather see localities free than energetic, he would only reply, hard as was the saying, he could not record his dissent. To some questions on the deleterious effects of tea-drinking, in producing anæmia and neurosis among the young, his replies were equally

cautious. I raised a laugh by begging him, in the consideration he was about to give to the subject of Tariff Reform, to bear in mind the evils that might attend a still further reduction of the tea-duty. On the cognate subject of milk Mrs. Watt-Smyth testified to the filthy conditions under which milk came from the cow-keeper. On the other hand, Miss Anderson, the Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, was able to speak hopefully on the subject of factory employment.

January 19th.—Charlie Helmsley was to-day married at Warwick. I gave up the idea of going with much regret, but the pressure of business was too great. I had an interesting conversation with Sandars ; he says the party are thoroughly satisfied with the Prime Minister's Manchester speech, and he does not anticipate any immediate trouble with Free-trade malcontents when Parliament meets. Whips will not be sent to Winston Churchill and Sir J. Poynder, but no others will for the present be drummed out of the party. He deplores very strongly the line recently taken by the Duke. When the Prime Minister was at Chatsworth he had many talks with his host on the subject; nothing could have been pleasanter than their relations ; but the Duke left no doubt on his mind that he was going over to the Opposition, even to the length of being ready to assume the Premiership as a means of uniting discordant forces. I cannot think, however, that any lustre will accrue to his fame if he really does attempt the impossible task of guiding and moulding such heterogeneous elements. Deeply as I respect his motives, I cannot but wish that he had made his separation from the Government the occasion of a definite withdrawal from the arena of party politics. He would thus, while vindicating the independence of his judgment and the honesty of his purpose, have saved a character that every Englishman values as part of the national inheritance, from the risk of misunderstanding, which is the greater as its unsuspecting virtues are brought into daily and hourly contact with the machinations of schemers and the manipulations of party malice.

Much progress is being made with army reform of a most searching and comprehensive kind. If the King's consent can be obtained to the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief, an announcement may be possible shortly after the meeting of Parliament covering the complete reorganisation of the military administration, while army reform in a still wider sense is adumbrated on the revolutionary lines of a definite separation between the Home Force and that required for service abroad.

January 20th.—Another meeting of the Deterioration Committee devoted to evidence touching the physique of factory workers. Dr. Scott and Dr. Young, Certifying Surgeons, testified

to the improvement noticeable in Glasgow and Liverpool respectively, and a Factory Inspector spoke dismally of the condition of Dundee and Tyneside.

January 21st.—I went to see Rodin's great works at the New Gallery. There is something primordial, almost fabulous, about the figure and pose of "Le Penseur," the kind of dreamer that Berlioz might have expressed in music or Heine in verse: something that suggests the human animal suddenly awakened to the power and torment of thought, and overwhelmed with anxiety as to the unknown into which he peers for the first time; indeed, you can almost see the plastic forces of the spirit sweeping over the inert elements of matter. A Bellona is another curious and impressive work from the same hand.

January 26th.—Events are taking somewhat curious shape touching party combinations in the near future, and among the agencies that are working towards a definite end is now included royal influence. It is said the King would like to see the leadership of the Opposition vested in Lord Rosebery, whom he thinks would be both safe and considerate. He is aware, however, that divergencies of feeling among Liberals at the present time are still too acute to render that solution of their difficulties immediately available. On the other hand, the possible early defeat of the present Government, if, as many people think likely, they cannot postpone a dissolution beyond next autumn, renders it necessary that some working arrangement should be in prospect for tiding over the interval within which rival pretensions can be disposed of or ignored. For this purpose a Devonshire Premiership offers obvious attractions, and the willingness of the Duke to make common cause with Lord Rosebery on the fiscal question is thought to create an opportunity for consolidating the new connection in opposition. The King does not disguise from his confidants that a strong Opposition is, in his judgment, necessary, and goes so far as to say that Mr. Balfour would welcome anything that tended to give solidity and coherence to his opponents. There are obvious reasons why Mr. Balfour should hail an Opposition in which the Duke took a principal part, as its attack would be blunted on just the two points where it might have been expected with the most vivacity and directness. The Minister who was responsible as Head of the Education Department for the Education Act, and, as President of the Committee of Defence, could not dissociate himself from much that has been condemned by the War Commission, is hardly the man to bring strength to opposition strategy, that tends to make party capital of these two questions; and it is quite conceivable that the Prime Minister should look to the Duke in opposition as the best guarantee he could have that the force of its attack will be diminished on the one point where their vulnerability in the constituencies has

already been proved, and on the other where their parliamentary weakness is greatest.

If, as those who are promoting this combination think, the next election results in giving the Opposition a small majority, a Government under the Duke's direction is believed to have a better chance of permanence, and it is further believed that, when he retires, the leadership may be handed over to Lord Rosebery without creating acute discord. There are, however, two elements in British political life which it ignores, or assumes may be treated with indifference: one are the Irish, and the other are the Radicals, who are not content with fine phrases but mean business; and I venture to think that either of these sections in the next House of Commons will be strong enough to interfere with the gentle dream of rosewater Cabinet-makers. At any rate, the scheme is one the development of which may afford great interest to onlookers, and I can conceive that no one will be moved to view it with such contented curiosity as the Prime Minister.

January 28th.—The meetings of the Physical Deterioration Committee this week have been fruitful in good evidence. On Monday Professor Cunningham, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh and an anthropologist of European fame, testified to the existence of a physical mean which he declared was the inheritance of the race as a whole, and to which, notwithstanding all deviations caused by degenerative tendencies, each generation strove to return as soon as healthier conditions prevailed; and yesterday the London Editor of the "Manchester Guardian" (Mr. Atkins) gave the Committee a very interesting summary of a series of opinions he had collected from a variety of authorities on the subject.

February 1st.—The promulgation of the scheme of War Office reform formulated by the triumvirate, and approved by King and Government, came like a thunderelap on the military members of the Administration. As Fleetwood Wilson said, it was just like the effect of a brick introduced into the middle of a hive of bees, one and all complaining that there was no room in the scheme for any of them—Could it be really intended? Had the King consented?—and so forth. It is rather hard on those whose term of service at Headquarters is yet far from complete; but the wisdom of the decision to leave new principles to be applied by new men, is incontestable. Whether the men or the system have been at fault is of little consequence, but the men who are identified with it must go. The scheme is certainly sweeping enough, but may break down in the effort to reach an unattainable symmetry, an aspiration that some people attribute to the French passion for the logical application of first principles which Esher is supposed to owe to his French descent. On a survey of our administration as a whole, I am rather inclined to

regret that there is not a greater admixture of French blood in English administrators.

I had a dinner at Willis's Club before the party at Lansdowne House principally for Lady Hylton, as he was dining with Lord Lansdowne. The other members of the party were the Belgian Minister, Count de Lalaing, the Freeman-Thomases, Lady Agnew, and Temple Franks. It proved a great success, which I attribute largely to happy combination. Lalaing has great readiness and tact, and made himself very agreeable, and the rest of the party all played their parts well. I walked up to Lansdowne House with Lalaing, who seemed most pleased with his evening's entertainment. I was grateful to Freeman-Thomas for having declined to dine with Lord Rosebery in order to fulfil his engagement with us. So far as he represented the anticipations of the Opposition, their prospects were never so rosy.

The gathering at Lansdowne House hardly suggested a party *in extremis*, as there was no lack of confidence expressed in the conduct of the parliamentary campaign, though the illness of the Prime Minister on the eve of the opening of the Session was a bad augury. It was brilliant as a blaze of beauty and distinction could make it, and there was no more fascinating figure than the young girl who in a fortnight's time will be the bride of the heir of the house, Miss Elsie Hope.

February 2nd.—The opening of Parliament took place in a dreary drizzle emblematic of the damp depression that infects certain aspects of the outlook. The House of Lords was not very full at the commencement of business, and I have seen the galleries more crowded. Preliminary interest was concentrated on the question where the Duke of Devonshire would sit. A few minutes before he came in, Waldegrave told me he had not the least idea what quarter of the House he would resort to, and the direction of his entry had therefore a special significance. Contrary to his usual practice of coming in by the bar, he entered the House on the stroke of 4.30 from the left side of the throne, passed behind the woolsack to the ministerial side of the House, then skirted the front bench, cordially shaking hands with Lord Lansdowne as he passed, and finally came to anchor on the corner seat on the front bench below the gangway next to Lords Derby and Cadogan. So much for the quidnuncs who had predicted that most certainly he would occupy the cross-benches.

Fitzwilliam, in moving the Address, acquitted himself fairly, but the success of the day was Hylton's speech in seconding it. Marked by freshness of treatment and maturity of thought (a somewhat uncommon combination on such an occasion), it produced a marked impression. Beginning with an appreciation of Lord Salisbury in a few well-chosen and impressive sentences, he next touched on the change of leadership, which enabled him

to pay a graceful and deferential compliment to the Duke of Devonshire. Throughout his speech, which was listened to with unusual attention, he never lost touch with the spirit of its construction, and, both in the modulation of his voice and the balance of his periods, maintained the high level of execution which adorned his exordium. From a coign of vantage in the gallery to the left of the throne, his wife watched his progress with unfailing interest and sympathy, gradually brightening with the disappearance of uncertainty, until her countenance shone with the light of an assured triumph. I never heard Lord Spencer speak so highly of any speech delivered under the circumstances. An incident in Lord Lansdowne's reference to Hylton's speech elicited an act of graceful kindness very characteristic of Lady Lansdowne. Alluding to his diplomatic career, Lord Lansdowne made a slip which diminished the value of the compliment he desired to pay. Lady Lansdowne detected the mistake at once, and, as soon as the speech was over, communicated with Lord Lansdowne and the reporter, to whom it was made plain what he had intended to say.

February 3rd.—The selection of Austen Chamberlain to represent the Government yesterday afternoon proved a dismal failure. It is perhaps futile to seek the causes, but nervousness and inexperience seem the most obvious. He was disconcerted just before he got up by upsetting an ink-bottle over his trousers, but that hardly accounted for his inability to get any grip of the substance of his task. One explanation is that he realised the impossibility of touching the fiscal problem without giving the Prime Minister or his father away, and heroically resolved to sacrifice his reputation as a debater by taking refuge in incoherence. On this theory, he performed his self-allotted rôle with great courage and adroitness; but I am told it was one of the most painful incidents in recent parliamentary history.

The trend of events in the Far East is definitely towards war, and nothing but an almost impossible change in Russia's attitude can avert it. The Japanese position admits of no misunderstanding. Their object in asking Russia formally to bind herself to respect the integrity of the Chinese Empire is not dictated by the belief that it would have a more lasting effect than any of her previous engagements to the European Powers; but Japan is at present bound to Russia by instruments which define and restrict her action in Korea, and, in view of future development, she considers it necessary that these engagements should be balanced with other undertakings by Russia, in the form of a bilateral contract, so that, in the event of Russia failing to observe her obligations, Japan could rightfully claim a free hand within the area of her interests. The possession in the last resort of such freedom of action is so vital to her safety that she must

insist upon the engagement that Russian pride or Russian policy refuses to give.

February 8th.—Two events of capital importance were announced this morning: the constitution of the new Army Council and the suspension of diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan. The character of the Council confirms the report I had received of the difficulty in discovering adequate material, after the self-denying ordinance imposed on the authorities by the recommendation of the Triumvirate. Neville Lyttelton has a reputation as a soldier, and some experience as an administrator, but it may seem to some a weakness of the Government's arrangements that they have to draw too largely on one family. Of Generals Douglas and Plumer respectable exploits in the field are recorded, but there is nothing known of them which might not be safely predicated of a good many of their contemporaries. Sir G. Wolfe Murray is said to have superior abilities. "The Times" repeats the invitation to Lord Roberts to take the Inspector-Generalship. I saw Esher last week, who shared my astonishment that such an expedient should be dreamt of. He told me nothing equalled his surprise when Roberts intimated to him that he was ready to place his services at the disposal of the Council. There is an air, of course, of chivalrous magnanimity about it, but a moment's reflection convinces one of the extreme unwisdom of the step. It is as if, upon the abolition of the Monarchy, the King was to accept the place of Chief of the Staff to the President of the Republic.

The other event has taken no one by surprise. Some days may elapse before any overt act of war is committed, but Sanderson, in communicating with me, admitted that it might occur at any moment, and we must therefore be ready with our Proclamation at once. The publication at the same moment of the Tibet Blue Book is a well-timed reminder to the public of the tortuous methods of Russian diplomacy. Russia, in her effort to create diversion, may find herself saddled with serious complications on several points of her frontier.

February 10th.—Yesterday, on receiving news of the outbreak of war between Russia and Japan, though the reports were not confirmed by any official notification from the Foreign Office of a state of war having arisen, I took the precaution of telegraphing to Knollys that a Council might be required at any moment for the purpose of proclaiming neutrality, and heard from him last night that the King would hold a Council on Thursday. The first thing this morning I ascertained from the Foreign Office that the notification had been received in the night, and that there was no formal obstacle to the issue of the Proclamation. At Londonderry's request I went up to see him on his return from the Royal Marriage at Windsor, and was surprised to hear that His Majesty

had complained that arrangements had not been made for the earlier issue of the Proclamation.

February 11th.—I went to the New Gallery. The colossal Rodin came in for a full share of our attention, but the most attractive feature was a dreamy sea-piece of Whistler's, representing the roadstead of Valparaiso with night stealing up behind ships at anchor and sails unfurled in the calm of evening. A serene light played over the distant horizon, and there was a sense of intense repose in the lazy and scarce perceptible undulations of the tide as it drew shorewards; all the vagueness and inexpressible longing, in short, that gathers about the sea in that pause when day and night seem for a moment to dispute its empire.

At the Council, which was held immediately the King arrived from Windsor, His Majesty went as near regretting his impatience yesterday as was possible. Londonderry had explained to him the necessity of certain formal preliminaries before any Proclamation could be issued, and, when I submitted the document for signature, he said: "This was the earliest moment, was it not, that We could have held a Council for the purpose?"—to which of course I dutifully assented.

February 12th.—I saw the Prime Minister this morning just before he left London, looking very much the worse for his fortnight's confinement. The course of the debate in the House of Commons on John Morley's amendment cannot have contributed to give him much confidence in the future. Lord Melbourne's observation, "It does not matter what we say so long as we all say the same thing," should have been writ large over the Treasury Bench. As it was, *quot homines, tot sententiæ* proved the *mot d'ordre*, and it is impossible to exaggerate the consequent demoralisation of their followers. The chief has the skill to make the most of an ambiguous formula, but his colleagues are altogether lacking in the gift, and the result has been the presentment of a succession of discordant views. Each day makes the rift wider; a remarkable victory of the Free-trade candidate in Hertfordshire, and the immense superiority of the dissentient Ministerialists in argument and ability, are all tending to render the position of the Government very critical. Speculation was rife at Londonderry House last night as to the chances of the division; anything from 30–80 was mentioned; but that was before the Hertford election was declared, and no one seemed to know what influence would predominate when the question was put. Everyone felt, however, that individual votes assumed an importance that had been unknown for years.

February 16th.—The division on John Morley's amendment gave the Government a majority of 51, which might easily have been turned into a minority if all the malcontents had had the

courage of their convictions. Salisbury, with whom I walked from Marylebone Church to Stratford Place after the Kerry wedding, told me it was four more than the Whips' calculation, which curiously enough exactly coincided with the one I had formed. Salisbury did not appear sanguine that such a start would give them momentum enough to survive the Session. He owned to some surprise at the great vehemence his brother had thrown into the Free-trade cause ; he was, however, not far from substantial sympathy with him. The debate has brought out the extremely critical position in which the Government stands owing to the rein given to Chamberlain, while opinion was still fluid on the subject. If, as it is now sought to impress upon the country, freedom of negotiation is all the Government ask for, why upon such a detail have some of its strongest members been forced to retire and a rent made in the ranks of the party that threatens to destroy it ? The Government are in the position of speculators who have anticipated a rise and find themselves face to face with a heavy fall ; they are occupied in liquidating rash engagements at a ruinous sacrifice, and all their available credit appears likely to be exhausted before the operation is complete.

At the wedding to-day Miss Elsie presented the most perfect picture of the young bride that it is possible to conceive : radiantly happy and yet with a reserve of pensiveness that seemed to open a window upon the unknown elements that attend all human hopes, and, it might be added, particularly those awakened by marriage music.

We dined with the Beauchamps in Bryanston Square, in a house belonging to the Shaftesburys which was once the Portman family mansion. I was curious to see Lady Beauchamp, and received a very favourable impression. She has an attractive manner and pretty gestures, with an evident desire to please that is very winning. The Stanhopes, Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, Lady Granville and Lady Grosvenor, Henry White and his daughter, and an Apostolic Protonotary of the Roman Church in purple robes, were some other members of the party. With a view to coming changes, Beauchamp avowed that he was already preparing Cabinet lists, and had arranged one in which the holder of every office was superior to its present occupant. I said somewhat dryly that I should be able to form some opinion of his list if I knew what office he had reserved for himself.

February 17th.—Our Committee this week has had some good witnesses. On Monday Mrs. Bagot gave us a most interesting account of her efforts to maintain a boys' club where the advantages of physical training were brought to bear on the poorest material. She had marshalled her impressions with the proper emphasis and concision, and gave the Committee great assistance

in dealing with that part of the problem that touches the contamination of lads between school age and adolescence. Mr. R. Neville explained the Garden City scheme, and Mr. Rowntree developed the ideas to which his book on Poverty in York gives prominence. To-day we had Mrs. Arthur Lyttelton and Mr. Horsfall of Manchester, an enthusiast with an encyclopædic range of information.

February 18*th.*—Lily Duncombe's funeral took place at St. Peter's, Eaton Square: a very moving and pathetic service. In less than four weeks a spot on the lungs, which rapidly spread, brought her to the end, the acute stage of the malady coming on too quickly to permit of the removal of the patient out of London. A cultivated taste for the beautiful, which had perhaps little opportunity of expressing itself in her life as an actress, perishes with her, and she will be remembered rather for what she sought than what she achieved. A somewhat unusual step was taken in prefixing to the order of the Service a kind of *Envoi* which she had left to her friends in the form of a brief *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*. It ran thus:

"My plea to the world in defence of a life of many sins was that I at least devoted it to the cultivation of the little God gave to me, and laboured, if only to be one of the ninety-nine whose footsteps keep the path clear for the hundredth whose talents beautify the world.

"'My plea to God He knows.'"

The note of self-consciousness is not perhaps absent, but it is not on that account the less pathetic, viewed in the light of the disproportion which the personal element assumes by the side of the vastness of death.

February 18*th.*—The fiscal debate in the Lords has tended still further to whittle away any reasons for the late crisis on the issue as now presented by the Government. The Duke's explanation of the reasons for his hesitation between September 14th and October 3rd is exactly such as any reader of these pages would be prepared for. With a mind so scrupulous and so anxious to act fairly, it is not surprising that, for the moment, his conduct was enigmatic; but his candid avowal that he attached too much importance to Mr. Chamberlain's resignation takes the sting out of any criticism that has been directed against it. It is a curious tribute to his slow-moving wisdom that Ministers should be engaged in explaining away the very expression in the Sheffield speech that made the Duke realise the slippery incline upon which he stood.

February 23*rd.*—By a singular coincidence, after delivering his view of these transactions, the Duke of Devonshire went down to Brighton at the house where the Prime Minister was staying,

to be nursed with him by Mrs. Arthur Sassoon. He came up to-day to attend the Committee of Council on the Northern Universities question, at which Lord Rosebery, Lord Balfour, and Lord James were also present. I never saw the poor old Duke suffering from a heavier cold. He was with me for a quarter of an hour before the meeting, and had the greatest difficulty in speaking, though he assured me he was much better. His relations with the Prime Minister were of the most amicable description, though Dunville told me that at the end of the Duke's speech Sandars came to him in a state of great perturbation, complaining of the statements made and hinting that it might be necessary for Mr. Balfour to add to the communications he had already addressed to the public. So far as my knowledge goes —and it is pretty extensive—the Duke was animated throughout his speech with a desire to say as little as possible to the umbrage of his late Chief. There are no doubt gaps in the accounts given by the different actors in the piece which it is very difficult to fill: some declaration of Chamberlain's possible action was certainly made at the second Cabinet, probably at the first, though at that time it does not seem to have attracted general attention: there was probably some wish that the dissentients should not realise the full force of what was coming until they had pledged themselves to resignation irrevocably.

The Duke goes abroad next week, postponing his departure for a day in order to receive the parties to the university dispute in conference on Wednesday—a plan proposed by Lord Rosebery and accepted with alacrity by the rest of the Committee.

March 1st.—I went to Devonshire House this afternoon to see the Duke primarily on the business of the University Committee. When that was concluded, we touched on other matters, from which the question of the hour could not be long excluded. It arose on my asking him whether he thought the Prime Minister much shaken by his illness or at all unlikely to be able to support the strain of his parliamentary work. He said it had not apparently diminished his capacity for taking things easily, and certainly the power he has of dismissing disagreeable subjects from his calculation is, with some disadvantages, a reserve of strength. He and the Duke did not touch on the latter's vindication of himself in the House of Lords, but it is understood that Mr. Balfour will probably take an early opportunity of explaining his action in asking that his communications with the Duke should not be made the common property of the other dissentient Ministers, for at that time he regarded their official connection with him as severed; whereas the Duke was, in his opinion, still a Member of his Cabinet.

The Duke looks as if he had been ill, and does not rally very quickly. He is now in the hands of Douglas Powell, who is taking

and whether the second was still alive in September, has not the importance that has been attributed to it; the second document or memorandum was in the nature of an excursus upon points outside the scope of the treatise on "Insular Free Trade," obviously written for the purpose of discussion and never intended as a statement of policy, or even an announcement of what that policy might be; and, as the published pamphlet embodied the whole extent of the fiscal programme submitted to Ministers in September, the Prime Minister was quite justified in ignoring the existence of the other at that date; though it was still present to the minds of uneasy and suspicious colleagues.

With great generosity Mr. Balfour avowed that the soreness generated between him and the Duke had been long forgotten, and passed on to pay him a very high tribute, declaring his character to be one of the assets of the country.

We had rather a nice dinner at home, consisting of Lady Vera Herbert, Charles and Lady Maria Welby, Sir E. and Lady Ward, Kintore, my sister Esmé Curzon, Blackie Hope and his wife, and Arthur Pakenham; Charlie Welby had to leave, unfortunately, before dinner was over, for the House of Commons.

March 10th.—The confidence Ministers entertained last Friday that they would easily weather the Session was rudely shaken last night, when Mr. Pirie brought forward a Free-trade motion condemning the utterances of certain Ministers with Protectionist proclivities. A somewhat colourless amendment, which professed to embody the ministerial declaration during the debate on the Address, was entrusted to Mr. Wharton, by which it was hoped to secure the votes of the free-food Unionists. This led directly to a revolt, the circumstances of which I can best describe from Herbert Maxwell's account, on whom was thrust a prominent share in the proceedings. He had seen Wharton's amendment on the notice paper and was prepared to vote for it; but, on arriving at the House in the middle of the afternoon, he found the "Tariff Reformers" in a state of ferment at what they thought was an expedient of the Government to pledge them to a repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain. A hastily convened meeting was held, Herbert Maxwell was put in the chair, and the full force of Protectionist sentiment unmuzzled. In the result an ultimatum was presented to the Government, which surrendered at discretion, in order to avert immediate extinction: Wharton's amendment was withdrawn, and a direct negative given to Pirie, whose motion was defeated by 46, amid signs of further Unionist dejection.

Herbert Maxwell, who had luncheon with us, was much depressed at his son-in-law, John Stirling-Maxwell, having given his first vote against the Government.

The stability of the Cabinet depends entirely on how long it

may be possible to coax the two extremes of an acutely divided party into the acceptance of a formula that does not even express any solid agreement among its authors. "Negotiation" was not invented as a policy, and as an expedient it is wearing very thin. Mr. Balfour's speech last night is admitted on all hands to have lacked his usual force: he was evidently suffering from physical strain; and no wonder, seeing that it was the third time in three days that he had been put upon his defence.

March 11th.—The apologetics of the Prime Minister led to an extraordinary onslaught on the part of Lord Rosebery, who was so stung by the use of the word "calumny" in the course of debate as to come down to the House of Lords yesterday afternoon, and, after quoting a definition of that word from "Murray's Dictionary," asked Lord Lansdowne what was meant by such an outrage. On getting his reply, which was couched in the terms of dignified comment, he moved the adjournment of the House, and, with an access of heat, which he knows so well how to assume, indulged in a tirade against the Prime Minister, concluding that he did not care one straw what might be said of him but only made his protest in the interests of the decencies of debate. Poor Lord Spencer, who had to follow, shook his head dolefully over that "terrible word 'calumny.'"

March 13th.—I went this afternoon with Lady Hylton to hear "Ein Heldenleben," Richard Strauss's masterpiece. Following on the "Eroica" last Sunday, it was interesting to note the difference in the symphonic treatment of a somewhat similar theme by two composers so widely separate in time and inspiration. The comparison does not call for any modification of the dictum that Beethoven said the last word on the form of the symphony, but it does suggest that the flexibility and comprehension of Beethoven's genius provided the germ and outline for developments of structure that were not altogether expressed in his own treatment of the symphony. However that may be, Richard Strauss's work is in the grand way indicated by his immortal predecessor, and, for sustained elevation of thought and poignancy of feeling, deserves to be ranked with the highest productions of musical art. It did not even pay the tribute to modernity of any undue pessimism, but closed on a note of triumphant, if not ecstatic, exultation.

March 15th.—A very pleasant luncheon at Hampden House. Abercorn was rather humorous at the prospects of a new Government, and thought nothing would please the King better than Esher as Prime Minister and Reuben Sassoon Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Knollys in a prominent position as Secretary of State.

March 17th.—Dined with the Jeunes; a study in eclecticism. I was told to take Gertrude Atherton, the American novelist, in

to dinner, and was looking about for her, when I was hailed by a voice behind me : " I think you are my man ! " and an arm was tucked into mine. On the other side I found myself next Lady Lugard (Miss Flora Shaw), and was much struck by the extraordinary capacity indicated in the shape of her head, the most powerful organ of mind I had seen on a woman's shoulders since George Eliot's. Nor was this expectation of ability at all disappointed when she came to talk. A few weeks in Nigeria with her husband had undermined her health, but she seems to have made the most of the time spent there, and was full of curious information upon the connection of the country with Moorish and Egyptian civilisation, there being an interval of 1,200 years, just about divided by the Christian era, between the Persian and Arab conquests of Egypt, during which it was wholly given up to its own Negro population. This reference to the Moors led her to talk of their domination in Spain. She displayed an extraordinary knowledge of Arab chronicles of that epoch through the medium of Spanish and French translations, and gave me a remarkable account of a *savant* of the twelfth century who was the favoured guest of the Moorish Emperor of the day, and in the year 1152 announced discoveries in reference to the earth's shape and the conditions under which it was maintained in space that almost textually anticipated the doctrine of Galileo and Newton. We agreed that it was one of the most insoluble problems of history how such a civilisation, after its rapid growth and magnificent prime, should have experienced so utter and overwhelming a catastrophe. I was also interested to hear that the Nigerian " Morocco," of which Hillingdon gave me a sample, was well known to the Spaniards of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the name of Cordovan leather.

Miss Atherton told me she had established her permanent head-quarters in Germany, at which I expressed some surprise when Italy and France were open to her. " Faugh ! " she said, " Italy is a corpse ! " " That may be," I replied, " but I rather like a corpse if its effigy sleeps in beautiful marble."

After dinner I talked to Lady Evelyn Cavendish, and was glad of the opportunity of telling her something of my thought relating to Lord Lansdowne and the way in which he had enhanced the best traditions of English public life, at a time when fastidious standards of conduct met with little contemporary recognition.

Victor Cavendish had an amusing story of his aunt, Mrs. Temple, who, like many other ladies of mature age, was troubled with an excess of adipose matter, for which she was recommended to try a course of physical exercises. Arrayed, therefore, in the proper garments, she proceeded from a recumbent position to raise one of her legs above her head, when she was seized with cramp, and no inducements on the part of the surgeon in attend-

ance could get her out of a rectangular posture; indeed, he was credibly informed that it required the resources of the whole College of Surgeons to do so.

March 18th.—The Opposition have been somewhat flabbergasted by the promptitude with which the Prime Minister has given them opportunity for their vote of censure on Chinese Labour. It was their calculation that the press of financial business would compel him to leave the matter over till after Easter, and during the interval they hoped to bring every resource to bear in keeping the subject before the country, even to the extent of charging the Government with an intention to shirk the issue. The direct challenge to them to do their worst next Monday, and the declarations that have already been made, will do much to clear the air and prove the party bias that animates the Opposition.

Leo. Rothschild is in the habit of sending *pâtés* to persons in his neighbourhood instead of the usual presents of game. The other day he sent one to a prominent farmer, who, meeting him a little later, thanked him cordially for his kindness, but added that his wife was no better for it. "Better! How do you mean?" replied the donor of the *pâté*. "Well, sir, she rubbed her leg with the ointment for six nights, but it is no better."

March 21st.—The Chinese debate in the House of Lords was remarkable for the severe castigation given to the Bishop of Hereford by Lord Goschen. That amiable prelate had spared no innuendo that could damage the reputation of Lord Milner in the course of his condemnation of the Labour Ordinance, and exhibited throughout his speech an animus that was episcopal rather than Christian, and Lord Goschen denounced his want of charity in terms of uncompromising vigour. I met him as I was leaving the Chamber, and told him my only regret was that he had allowed Lord Norton's intervention to take something off the heat with which he had listened to the Bishop's attack; but he appeared to think he had acted with prudence, looking to the language he might otherwise have used. Certainly Lord Norton made use of his opportunity: it is not often that a man in his ninetieth year addresses either House of Parliament; but he displayed a force and fire, and used his voice with a sonorous effect, that many a younger man might have envied.

Carrington was responsible for the *mot* that the matter could not safely be left in the hands of Providence, and the Archbishop signalised himself by an essay in opportunism.

March 24th.—Last night Dr. Shirley Murphy, Medical Officer to the L.C.C., organised an expedition to the shelters and common lodging-houses of S.E. London, for the information of the members of the Physical Deterioration Committee. I and four of my colleagues left the Head-quarters of the Medical Department

about 9.30, and, under adequate escort, proceeded first to the Salvation Army shelter in Southwark. The picture presented on entering the large Hall had a peculiar touch of horror. In four rows, stretching away into an infinite perspective, appeared what on first sight one took for coffins, each with its occupant in some forced and unnatural attitude. Never did sleep visit suffering mortality in forms that stereotyped more cruelly the broken struggles of life. Not one lay in a position that suggested repose: or, rather, it seemed as if slumber had overtaken each of them in some phase of the convulsive agitation which is all they know of life. As we passed down the lines and flashed lanterns on the recumbent figures, not an aspect of human misery remained unrevealed; all the impotent terror, the haggard despair, the truculent brutality of the human animal in the lowest stages of its degradation were there depicted; thought could hardly realise the waste of material so collected, the wrecks of existence thus for a moment drifted into some kind of haven, the awful conglomerate of vice and poverty that lay at our feet. Baudelaire might have found the suggestion for a new series of "Fleurs du Mal" more appalling than any he ever painted.

In these shelters and in common lodging-houses of which we saw all types, some 25,000 of the population of London find rest. The common lodging-houses are for the most part frequented by men in casual employment: dock labourers, cab-runners, sandwich-men and such-like. The corresponding class of accommodation for women is very largely occupied by the lowest class of prostitute, and it is not therefore filled up to a very late hour of the night. Institutions called "Doubles" also exist for married people. About 5 per cent. are so, the rest are prostitutes with the man they pick up for the evening, so that in this way comfortable, or at any rate quiet, quarters are provided at small cost for illicit connections. I was much struck by the orderliness that everywhere prevailed. No sign of drunkenness either in the houses or in the streets. The proprietors of the lodging-houses knew how to maintain discipline, and enforced it. Even in Dorset Street, Whitechapel, the scene of two or three of the worst murders associated with the name of Jack the Ripper, a spirit of submission reigned. In this street is a notable shop for the supply of victuals to the poorest, kept by a man who is himself the opulent proprietor of two large common lodging-houses. Ten minutes spent there enabled us to judge of the way in which cheap food was brought within the resources of the very poorest. The material seemed on the whole good; ham and potatoes, bread and fish, the things most in demand, and, late as it was (midnight), a large sale was still going on. The supervision of these lodging-houses by the County Council has led to a great elevation in the standard of decency and sanitary

requirements, with a corresponding improvement in the character and self-respect of their occupants, and it is by the application of similar pressure to the lowest class of private dwelling-house that this improvement might be made more general.

March 28th.—Council at Buckingham Palace before the King's departure for Denmark. I rose from bed to attend, having been there all Sunday, and got through the business with an effort. Afterwards I had a conference with Sir W. Anson as to the line he should take in replying to Gorst, who intended to raise a debate in the course of the discussion of the Appropriation Bill, on some of the points which our Committee is considering.

March 30th.—I dined with the Wilfrid Ashleys, with whom were collected a party for cards, including Mrs. Billy Chains and Lady de Trafford. Lady Tweedmouth had a set for bridge, and the remainder played poker for very considerable stakes, to which Wilfrid and I left them. I took Lady de Trafford in to dinner, and liked her much ; indeed, she struck me as singularly unspoiled : there was a gentleness, a sympathy, and a joyousness about her outlook I was hardly prepared for.

April 12th.—After eleven days in the country, the first five in Hertfordshire with the Harry Anstruthers, and the remainder at Eastnor with Granville Farquhar, I returned to London yesterday.

Friends of the Ministry are in high feather over the French agreement and the cordiality with which it has been received both at home and abroad. I saw Lord Lansdowne, who looks and speaks as if a great weight was off his shoulders ; and certainly to him far the larger share of the credit is due, even making every allowance for the activities of the King.

I am told that, when Lord Rosebery left the Foreign Office, he stated as his confirmed belief that an arrangement with France was an impossibility. Since then the Fashoda crisis, the Dreyfus scandal, and the Boer War have all contributed their share to engender hatred and aggravate ill-will ; yet in less than two years and a half Lord Lansdowne has disposed satisfactorily of every point in a balance-sheet of long-standing distrust and difficulty. With one or two exceptions, the English Press as a whole have seized the great features of the arrangement, the mutual determination to get rid of causes of estrangement by dealing in a large spirit of reciprocity with every source of difference. Both in Egypt and Newfoundland France has made concessions that, looking to the origin of her rights in the one case and the sentiment she attached to the exercise of ours in the other, far outweigh in importance the material points we have surrendered. It should be remembered that the privileges she retained under the Treaty of Utrecht were almost the only salve to an *amour-propre* wounded by one of the most disastrous

of her wars, and later, when she lost her North American Colonies, became the only reminiscence of that glowing page in French colonisation. Similarly, our presence in Egypt, to which she has now given diplomatic confirmation, recalls to her the surrender of a very dear ambition, associated with acquired glory in the sphere of science and of war. No doubt, on a purely material estimate of reciprocal concession, we may have given up more than we receive, but, viewing the transaction in its moral and sentimental aspects, we have gained far more than we lose; and, as we are rich in material endowment, and France lives on the sentiment of her traditional renown, it is most just that her sacrifice under the one head should have a substantial recognition in terms of the other.

The punctilious care with which the whole scheme of mutual reconciliation has been worked out does Lord Lansdowne infinite credit, and the State Paper in which the general results are summed up records with stately self-repression one of the worthiest achievements of modern diplomacy.

I met Stanley in the afternoon on his way to the House of Commons. He thinks the effect on the position of the Ministry will be very great. Among those who attach more importance to the place the country holds in the councils of Europe than to the objects of party controversy, that will no doubt be so. The very proper line taken by the Radical Press cannot, moreover, be without influence on the attitude of the more reflecting members of the community, who at the present juncture probably hold the scales in a good many constituencies.

Personally, the agreement gives me the highest satisfaction, because (1) there is no English statesman for whose reputation I am so jealous as Lord Lansdowne's; and (2) there is no nation for which I have the same affection as the French. As a friend of mine, who knows and loves France well, says in writing from Cannes, "Bravo, Lord Lansdowne! I am more than delighted with his Anglo-French *entente*, and cannot understand why a settlement of all the irritating questions involved was not arrived at years ago." The answer to the letter is, that the sympathetic intelligence was never before united with the diplomatic tact.

April 19th.—The indications are distinctly more favourable to the Government. I had some conversation to-day with two men who, for different reasons, are as well qualified as any to know the *arcana* on either side. Sir W. Dyke told me the Government was distinctly stronger in the House of Commons since the Recess, and anticipated no difficulty over either the Budget or the Licensing Bill. As to the latter, he thought no Government had ever been in a position more favourable to dealing with the question: the publicans were ready to accept the minimum that could be offered them, and there was a general disposition to make

the most of the opportunity of settling the controversy on a basis of some reasonable compensation. An hour or two later I had a talk with Haldane, who said: "The constituencies are sick of the Government, it is true, but they hardly like us any better, and the Cabinet is perfectly safe for the rest of this Session." He went on to describe the difficulties that awaited his friends when they attained office, with a large Labour Party preserving a position of critical aloofness and sitting on the opposition side of the House; an Irish party whose hostility may at any moment be incurred; smouldering dissension chronic between the Imperialist and parochial tendencies current within their ranks, and, so far as he could see, no leader qualified to dominate and control discordant elements.

April 21st.—I was in the House of Commons this afternoon and witnessed the acute disappointment of the Opposition at the failure of the Licensing Bill to give them the case against the Government, on which they had confidently relied. The wisdom of the change made in the Bill at the eleventh hour is amply vindicated, and no difficulty is likely to be experienced in qualifying magisterial discretion by an appeal to Quarter Sessions. Short of the occurrence of the unexpected, it would seem as if the remainder of the Session might be quiet and uneventful. The impression gains ground, and is strengthened by Austen Chamberlain's speeches, that his father has subscribed to a self-denying ordinance and will not do anything in Parliament to embarrass adherence to the fiscal formula adopted by Ministers. Some may say that Mr. Chamberlain's parliamentary self-restraint does not afford any very firm grounds for confidence; but the interest he has for the moment in gaining time may serve to repress dangerous ebullitions.

I had the Feversham box at the Albert Hall for the performance of Elgar's "Apostles." The Donoughmores and Lady Hylton came. It is an intricate and ambitious work, on which it is well to suspend judgment; but at first sight it seems as if the composer had not obtained full mastery over his powers of expression, looked-for effects being just missed or shorn of the form and emphasis required to give them due proportion. The spirituality of the religious sentiment is unquestioned, and much of the melody has a strange beauty which suggests the mystical fervour of some of the old Italians. Donoughmore turned out to be no inconsiderable musician, and followed the score with interest and intelligence.

April 22nd.—We were bidden to one of those tedious functions called "Courts," and, though starting fairly early, arrived almost last and had an hour and a half to wait before we moved. The King was late in arriving, and there was a heavy *entrée*, which kept the ordinary crowd in patient endurance for a long time.

Everything was very well arranged, and neither on arrival nor going away was there any delay. Lady Beauchamp, whom I talked to for some time, told me Elgar was a Catholic, which accounts to a great extent for the purity of the religious sentiment in his musical compositions. It is notable how Catholicism has retained the virtues of its harmonic tradition unimpaired by the stream of modern tendency.

April 24th.—I hear Lord Rosebery entertains the desire to administer the Colonial Office on the next change of Government. It will simplify things if the ambition to surpass Mr. Chamberlain facilitates his surrender of all claim to the Premiership. The idea interests me, as behind looms Haldane's great plan for reconstituting the Privy Council on lines which will give the Colonies a deliberative voice in the Councils of the Empire.

April 27th.—I had some conversation with Sir Horace Rumbold on affairs in the Far East. He shares with me a dislike to the gush about Japan which is current just now, and is meeting with a ready response in drawing-rooms and music-halls and other rendezvous of the unreflecting. He goes further, and condemns the Japanese treaty, which, if Japan is defeated, will, he believes, be invoked to bring us to her assistance. Of course he realises that we should not accept such a construction of our treaty obligations, but the result will in his opinion be to place us in a worse position towards Japan than any other European State. He appears to overlook the considerations that the Japanese treaty has done much to localise the war and will in the end tend to restrict the area of negotiation. Further, the assumption that a Russian victory is in the long run inevitable, seems to me to go beyond the probabilities of the case.

On the hypothesis of a complete victory for Japan, the position will be much more difficult. Sir Alfred Lyall, than whom no more thoughtful and sagacious Orientalist exists, considers that the pre-eminence of Japan in Asia would be fraught with dangerous consequences to the peace of India. The Hindoo Baboo would find in the higher education of Japan that intellectual stimulus on strictly Asiatic lines which, while promoting his mental activities in many directions, would tend to make the gulf between him and Western ideas more complete, and of course emphasise his present more or less passive antagonism to Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Sir Alfred thinks that here is a real peril for the future, and it is obvious that the prestige accruing to Japan from a victory over Russia would in the eye of every Asiatic establish her as the supreme influence in Asia. It is no answer to this argument to say, as Sanderson did, that Russia is in essentials an Asiatic Power also ; she may be *au fond*, but in her diplomatic relations and all that brings her within the comity of nations, she is European, and cannot in her policy or pretensions afford to

ignore European opinion, to which Japan is as indifferent as she was forty years ago.

April 28th.—I dined with the College of Surgeons, and had a very pleasant evening. Their museum is full of most interesting objects, and I saw several members of the profession I wished to speak to on "physical deterioration." I had Butlin next me, the most skilful cancer operator in the country: this week he was due to perform nine capital operations, and had already got through six. He admitted he was making a very large income, but regretted the accident that had brought him into prominence in this line. The life, he said, was awful: no such callousness, as one supposed comes to the systematic operator, came to his relief, and in each case it was the quivering human body that he felt under the knife. The man was evidently as full of sensibility as he could be; his hands were beautiful, delicate, symmetrical, nervous, *au bout des ongles*. What a ghastly succession of experiences must be his! He is a member of the Commission engaged in investigating cancer, and gave me a curious account of the farm stocked with cancerous animals which are the subject of daily observation. He fully believes that the malady will be proved to be of parasitic origin, but admits that nothing is known yet: all they can claim is to have made operation so far more certain by the removal of the radices, that the malady returns less frequently and at longer intervals.

April 29th.—Dinner with the Stage Society at the Café Monico; Onslow in the chair. The speeches were above the average. Pember Reeves was very good in proposing "the Players," and an amusing sparring match took place later between Max Beerbohm and Bernard Shaw. Reeves, in referring to the latter, had described his evolution from critic, through playwright to politician, as outlined in the words "candid, candida, candidate." Max Beerbohm, in the course of his speech, went with vicious intent for Courtney, the editor of the "Fortnightly," who had given us a long speech earlier in the evening.

May 4th.—The disasters that have overtaken Russia by land and sea must cause her Ministers bitter regret that they so rashly set aside all approaches to an accommodation which at any time during the negotiations was within their reach. No one knows this better than the French Government, and it has no doubt had an important effect in determining the extreme propriety of their attitude. I understand, on no less authority than that of M. Cambon himself, that Russia could almost up to the last have satisfied Japan and retained the substance of what she wanted, had she not been convinced on evidence, which was wholly illusory, that Japan could not and would not fight in the last resort, and that by a policy of bluff she could secure a signal diplomatic success. With this exposure of the spirit

that animated her, the whole fabric of her charges against Japan falls to the ground, and the reasons of her lack of preparation are explained. It is not clear whether her diplomatic agents were to blame, or whether she acted in disregard of their warnings ; but France, at any rate, realises that she provoked a conflict for which she was unprepared, and has thus forfeited any claim on French support in the situation that has been so needlessly and criminally created. It would seem as if the hollowness of the Russian system had penetrated every branch of the administration ; the magnificent fidelity of the dumb and downtrodden masses is the only thing that stands between it and ruin.

Dined with the James Hopes in Cadogan Square. I took Lady Robert Cecil in to dinner, who, notwithstanding her deafness, proved very intelligent and agreeable. She shared my views of the impotence of much English literary criticism, and appreciated Anatole France. Nothing, she said, had been arranged in regard to the preparation of Lord Salisbury's " Life." I suggested that, in the event of the Prime Minister being relieved from the cares of office, it was a task he might very properly undertake with better qualifications for success than most people, in which she quite concurred. Austen Chamberlain, who was there, told me that in connection with the elaborate imputations made upon him for the importation of unstripped tobacco before the Budget statement, and the attempt to implicate a member of the Tariff Commission, McKenna had failed to get hold of the fact that less and not more of this tobacco had actually been imported than had been the case the year before. It is curious what unexpected assistance is given to the Government by the ill-judged malice of a certain type of politician.

May 8th.—I attended High Mass at the Westminster Cathedral and heard another of Palestrina's masses. Truly religious music never found a more perfect medium of expression. A music subjective, austere, and impersonal, yet, by the beauty of its accords and the poignancy of its intimations, more moving than any other.

In the evening I dined with Redesdale at the Marlborough. We had the place more or less to ourselves, which did not make my host the less entertaining. It is a pity, with his full and varied life, he has put few notes of his reminiscences on paper. He had been with the King before luncheon, and told me one amusing anecdote. He was telling His Majesty his reluctance to get the new Deputy Lieutenant uniform, and asked leave to wear his Civil Service dress. The King agreed at once, and characteristically added : " Take care your collar is not too high."

This led to an older story of the same character. At the opening of the Law Courts the Duke of Teck appeared for the first time in the uniform of a Colonel of the British Army,

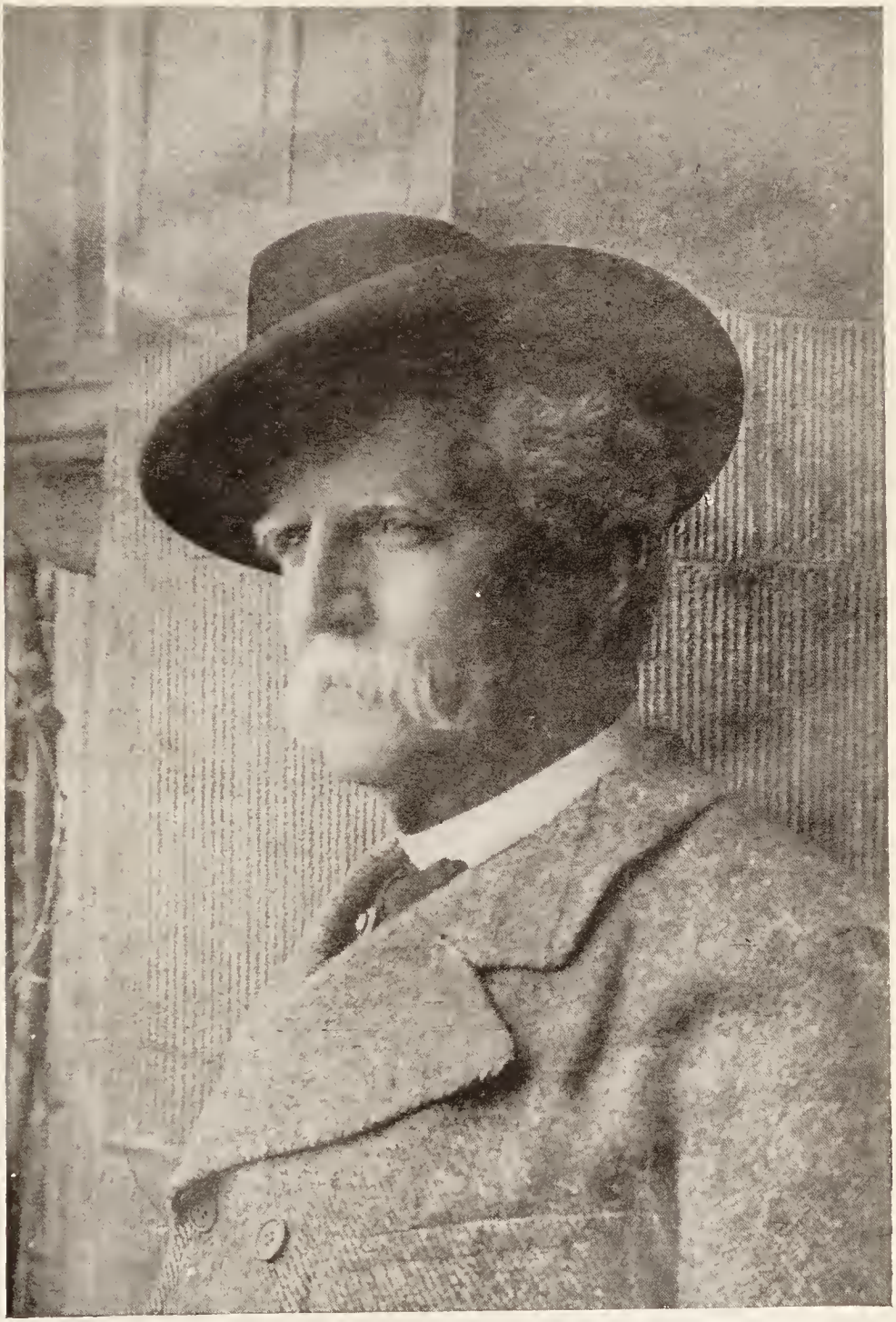

Photo by himself.

LORD REDESDALE.

the reward of his services in Egypt. The Prince of Wales was in conversation with Bertie, when his face suddenly assumed that fixed look one is familiar with when he sees anything he dislikes. Redesdale followed the direction of his eyes, which rested on the Duke of Teck, and, after a pause, the cause of his displeasure was announced: "Francis has got the wrong buttons!"

May 11*th*.—The report that at the forthcoming meeting of the Liberal Unionist Association the Duke and Chamberlain will arrange their differences without formal separation, proves unfounded. The Duke's retirement from the Presidency is inevitable, and it will probably be followed by withdrawal from the Association. It does not seem Chamberlain's fault that things have reached this pass, as many people might have supposed from the correspondence published some time ago. The real responsibility lay with the intermediary. I understand that the person charged with the arrangement managed it badly. The Duke was careful to read him the terms on which he thought the Association might be preserved, at the outset of their interview. Subsequently he did not take the precaution of submitting his notes of what had passed to the Duke, and, further, did not communicate his impressions directly to Chamberlain, but through Powell Williams, thus giving still further room for misapprehension. The Duke's conditions at that time for continuing President were merely that the funds of the Central Office should not be available for tariff war, and, secondly, that the local associations should be precluded from attacking any seat held by a Liberal Unionist on the ground of his fiscal opinions. These terms obviously do not go beyond a very formal neutrality, as they left most of the local associations free to become actively propagandist in Chamberlain's favour. The correspondence between the Duke and Chamberlain was based upon mutually erroneous conceptions of what had passed. Later, the Duke saw Chamberlain and discussed the matter with him in the friendliest spirit; but the divergency of feeling in the constituencies has grown too marked to permit of things now being arranged on the suggested basis.

May 14*th*.—The folly that characterised some recent acts of War Office administration is becoming very clear. The change introduced, substituting three years for seven as the term of service, depended for its success on obtaining a large proportion of re-enlistments, some 75 per cent. of the whole, towards which the extra 6*d*. was to serve as an inducement. This anticipation has not been realised; the Indian relief service is utterly disorganised, and men are now sent to India and returned to this country in ten months at a cost which is reaching prodigious proportions. The soldiers know the difficulty in which the Administra-

tion is placed, and there is something like a strike going on: that is to say, pressure is being used to deter men from re-enlisting, in the hope that some further concession in the shape of big bonuses will follow. I believe this was pointed out to the Secretary of State when the scheme was in inception, and met by him with an outburst of petulant impatience. "It is just like you, always taking sides with the soldiers!" was his remark to one of his principal civilian advisers who thought it his duty to warn him.

The war outlook is to my mind sinister. Great as have been the achievements of Japan, she is only yet at the beginning of her task, and I understand the burden of campaigning in a country without roads and of the most primitive resources is beginning to tell very heavily on her military organisation. A well-informed Japanese now in London stated the other day, "If Japan does not win a signal triumph by the end of June it is all up with her." And this is the reason why she must push on at all costs towards her objective with the most feverish haste. Russia's game, on the other hand, is to wait. Lady Scott, who has just returned from St. Petersburg, described the fixed determination of the governing classes in Russia to see the thing through, and, having regard to the political effects of defeat, one can hardly be surprised. Russia must go on, it is said, and, whether it is in three or five years, the result must be the same; but, as a matter of fact, I do not think anybody knows enough of Russia to speak with authority on such a point, not even Russians themselves. Has the Empire a nervous system that would make disaster felt from one end to the other of the huge organism? Has the dominant class, beyond a certain amount of professional pride, got the deep-seated patriotism that would undergo and support years of real sacrifice? Is the spirit that fought Borodino and fired Moscow still alive?

May 16*th*.—Council at Buckingham Palace. The King took exception to the practice he has hitherto countenanced of appointing Colonial Privy Councillors by Order in Council, as many of them never come to this country to be sworn. The Chief Justice of Canada was on the list for the purpose, and the King assumed that he was there to be sworn, though I had told Knollys all about it and explained that the appointment was in accordance with the practice of recent years. I was called on before the Council to go over the explanation a second time, and tried to persuade His Majesty that the method was exceptional to meet the exigencies of the colonial situation. The King appeared to think it implied some derogation from the time-honoured ceremony of swearing, which is of course a mistake, as the process of introduction by Order in Council is in fact just as ceremonial, in another form. After the Council was over I sent Knollys

a list of those whom His Majesty had previously appointed in this way, and received a notification that they were to be sworn whenever they came to England.

May 20th.—I went to see Sandars to talk over the arrangements for the Lord President's birthday dinner which it is the wish of the Prime Minister he should give, as the Duke did last year. The position is very much complicated by the presence of Privy Councillors in both Houses who have recently left the Ministry, and whom, therefore, particularly in the case of one or two, it is difficult to bring under the category of general supporters of the Government. If they are asked, as will probably be the case, and come, the pleasing spectacle of Ritchie and George Hamilton sitting down to dinner with Chamberlain will be offered to the enjoyment of their fellow-guests, and the situation may develop in piquancy, particularly as there is said to be a growing exacerbation of feeling between the two sections of the Unionist Party, to some extent due to the conviction among the " Free Fooders " that Mr. Balfour's tactics have been attended so far with very considerable success.

May 23rd.—We spent Whitsuntide at Denton.[1] A very pleasant party, consisting of David Erskine and Lady Horatia, Hugh Morrison and Lady Mary, Mrs. Wray, Miss Violet Pennant, F. Wynn, and C. Hoare. The place was looking its loveliest in the freshness of spring foliage, and the garden, which has been much improved, presents an attractive picture. Both Charles Welby and his wife make things very pleasant for their guests, and she is one of the nicest women I know. Whit Monday was our only fine day, when a large party from Belvoir came over to avoid the excursionists who infest the castle.

June 4th.—Met Mowatt last night dining with Desart. He was rather funny about Grant Duff in connection with the verbose reminiscences which were being poured upon the public. On his departure to assume the government of Madras he was entertained at dinner by his friends, and, in reply to the toast of his health, said that it had always been his object to seek the society of men greater in ability, character, and eminence than himself; upon which Lord Houghton, who was sitting next him, said audibly, " And by God you have succeeded ! " It has been said that Sir W. Harcourt is to have the earldom revived when he leaves the House of Commons. Mowatt told us he had written very humorously to Onslow in answer to his congratulations on succeeding to Nuneham, declaring his intention to devote the remainder of his life to the repeal of the Hares and Rabbits Act and the Death Duties.

At the Prime Minister's party in the evening I saw Curzon and had a few minutes' cordial conversation with him. I re-

[1] The home of Sir Charles and Lady Maria Welby.

minded him how signally my prophecies of his success had been fulfilled.

June 5th.—I had some talk with Alec Hood this afternoon, who complained bitterly of the trouble the " consciences " of Members of Parliament were giving him, and was disposed to challenge the right of a private member to the possession of such a thing; though I reminded him there had been a time when he displayed one with some vehemence of language. That he desired to forget. He had a turn-up with the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Prime Minister's party, when he arraigned His Grace for the way he had treated the Government. It was through the concessions made to the Church over the Education Act that most of their unpopularity had been incurred; during the Session they had put the two Bishopric Bills in the forefront of legislation, and yet on Chinese Labour and on the Licensing question the Archbishop and his colleagues were as unsteady as they could be, and by winking at ritualistic practices were daily swelling the Protestant revolt. He wound up by declaring nothing more was to be expected from him, as the responsible parliamentary adviser of the Government, and threatened on his own account to build a dissenting chapel in his park and conduct the service himself.

The Archbishop seems to have been uncomfortable under this tirade, but the conclusion moved him to laughter.

There is no doubt more in the complaint than the mere annoyance of the Whip. The Archbishop's belief in his authority leads him to intervene as a kind of political *censor morum* when both prudence and tact should advise silence. The question of Chinese Labour was a crucial instance of the imprudence of his intervention. His speech on that occasion was a most egregious example of trimming: not the trimming that Lord Halifax illustrated, the philosopher's repugnance to the violence of extremes, but the timid, hair-splitting type of trimming, which is the criterion of ecclesiastical statesmanship in the hands of Anglican prelates.

June 11th.—The State Ball last night was a brilliant spectacle, though the effect is marred by the way in which people mob the entrance to the ball-room, making movement impossible except at the risk of a prolonged struggle; while whole suites of magnificent rooms are almost untenanted. The Austrian Archduke, who was the guest of the evening, is not an imposing-looking person, though Sir Francis Plunkett assured me he was a very competent soldier, and one who, in the event of war, would be entrusted with high military command. I spent some time with Lady Bathurst, who quite justifies all the eulogies passed upon her. In the crowd I found myself jammed against Haldane, and in that position we discussed the " Ultimate Reality " and the scheme of transcendental philosophy that his last volume goes

far to perfect. He tells me he has not said his last word on the subject.

June 16*th.*—The postponement of the expected statement on Army Reform has given rise to all sorts of speculations, and the usual hints at dangerous divisions of opinion in the Cabinet are rife. The real explanation is the simple one that the Committee of Defence have at last formulated their conclusions upon the army required for the defence of the Empire and Arnold-Forster has had to take his scheme back for revision on the basis of 30,000 less infantry than he had provided. The expense involved in his projected arrangements had given rise to a good deal of ministerial disquiet, and a saving of £1,500,000, which is represented by the aforesaid reduction, was not disagreeable. A Cabinet Council took place on Tuesday night at 10 o'clock, and sat till after midnight, when their decisions were registered. The Secretary of State, who had been working himself to death over it, then broke down and has since been in his bed. He must have realised by this time what he has to struggle with. It was told Mr. Balfour, the other day, that Asquith was anxious to go to the War Office when his party came in. Upon which the Prime Minister meditatively observed, "I should have thought Asquith had more sense!" St. John Brodrick then described the terms on which Lord Salisbury had offered him the Secretaryship of State. "I have the Queen's commands to offer you the Secretaryship of State for War. You are so well aware of the disadvantages of the position that I need not enlarge upon them." Upon this Mr. Balfour remarked, "That was my uncle at his best!"

June 18*th.*—A beautiful afternoon, which I spent at Osterley, staying for dinner: a party of some twenty at three tables, the Neville Lytteltons, Lady Lugard, Sir Vincent Caillard, Sanderson, and Henry James being the principal personages. Caillard surprised me by saying that Tariff Reform had made great strides since I met him nearly a year ago at Herbert Maxwell's. His evidence of this lay in the fact that the trades unions are beginning to get concerned on the subject. He admitted that the leaders were as stubborn in their opposition as ever, but this attitude was purely political and had been discounted. The encouraging signs were, in his view, to be found among the members of trades unions, who were not following the dictation of their leaders, and were showing considerable receptivity to the new ideas. He acknowledged that no proofs of it could yet be gathered from the attitude of the constituencies, but said enough to indicate the source of Mr. Chamberlain's confidence. Caillard himself deplored the risk of Tariff Reform becoming a purely Protectionist movement, which the masses may very possibly identify with the commercial greed of a few; and I share his

opinion on the bogus character of much of this free-food agitation, powerful as it has been to frighten people off the best aspect of Mr. Chamberlain's ideas. Henry James impressed me. His appearance was striking, and he has a refined temper under a harassed and retired air. As a conversationalist he was involved and ineffective, and with little suggestion of the graces of his elaborate literary style. Lady Lugard again struck me as one of the best talkers I had ever listened to.

June 23rd.—I saw Walrond,[1] who is full of despondency at the position of the Government; he regards it as so precarious that, although his doctor urges him to go to Aix at once, he has declared that it cannot be thought of till August 20th. The demoralisation among the Ministerialists is so great that the tacit convention by which no member ever leaves the House except by the main exit is no longer observed, and the calculations of the Whips are liable to be upset by the discovery that the majority has dribbled away. He is inclined to attribute it partly to the rigour that marks Alec Hood's dealings with the rank and file; but of course his criticism is open to the answer that he was notoriously lax. At any rate, he claims that men never played him false in the way that they are now alleged to do. I saw Sir William Dyke later at Stafford House, who amply confirmed the other's dolorous anticipation. He accuses the younger men in the House of leaving all the hard work to members of his standing, and took a most gloomy view of the future. There was no loyalty which could be rallied to the support of the Government, and he thought the majority might disappear at any moment. Systematic obstruction is rampant on the Opposition benches, and irresolution and indifference possess the Ministerialists. The Council this morning was marked by an incident that at one moment looked as if it might end tragically. Sir Gainsford Bruce was to be sworn on retirement from the Bench, and, in accordance with a message from Knollys, he was summoned by telegram last night, to which he replied in the affirmative. On arrival he was in a paralytic condition, and it was with the greatest difficulty he could be brought into the antechamber. It was obvious he could neither kneel nor be trusted to remain on his legs very long, and it was accordingly arranged with the King that he should be excused the one and leave immediately after he was sworn. While, however, the oath was being administered to Sir H. Taschereau he suddenly reeled, and, but for the promptness and strength of Alfred Lyttelton, who held him up till I found a chair, would have fallen. For a few moments he looked as if he was in a state of collapse, and I feared the worst. The King looked very perturbed and signed to me to hurry matters, and we just managed to swear him, the King leaving his place and present-

[1] Sir W. Walrond, now Lord Waleran, Conservative Whip 1895–1902.

ing his hand to be kissed while he seemed to retain some little consciousness. His attendant was then brought in and he was taken out. I heard afterwards that he was removed to his carriage with great difficulty. The imprudence of allowing him to come out in such a state is inexplicable, and the happy-go-lucky system by which a man in his condition of health has been permitted to remain on the Bench up to within a day or two ago was somewhat rudely exposed. The King showed him the greatest kindness and consideration, but we ought to have been warned that the state of his health rendered his attendance unadvisable.

The party at Stafford House was very brilliant, the gorgeous series of rooms presenting a rich succession of beauty, the Duchess herself being perhaps the loveliest object there; there was one woman I could not identify as nearly naked as possible. As Mowatt said, her aspect suggested the line "One struggle more, and I am free."

Haldane gave me a most amusing account of his experiences with the Court in arguing the case for the United Presbyterians who desire union with the Free Church and are opposed by a small minority representing themselves to be the sole depositary of the orthodox U.P. tradition. The union of the ultra-Calvinistic United Presbyterians with the Arminian Free Churchmen has given an opening to the Lord Chancellor, who believes himself no contemptible theologian, and the controversy has largely turned on the reconcilability of predestination and free-will. Lord James, whom the case puzzles like an Indian appeal, put to Haldane the plaintive query how he could reconcile the doctrine that some were born to salvation and others to damnation with free-will; to which Counsel replied that his lordship would have no difficulty in doing so, were he not so anthropomorphic, an expression which the Scotsman reproduced as "anthropomorphous." Subsequently, in talking of an antinomy, Lord Alverstone begged him to use expressions he could understand, and appeared to think it had something to do with autonomy. Davey's attempt to define it failed in metaphysical precision, and the Court was left deploring that they had not studied its terminology before embarking on the thorny problems the case presented.

June 24th.—Celebration of the King's birthday. I had shared the expense of putting up a large stand in the Privy Council garden with Londonderry, he taking two-thirds (forty people) and I reserving one-third for twenty more. Lady Hamilton brought three children, and Lady Bathurst two. Mrs. Archie Morrison, Lady Dartrey, Mrs. Hope, Lady Edith Dawson and her *fiancé*, and some others were present. The Lord President had a buffet in his room, to which we adjourned afterwards—an attention on his part that was much appreciated by the thirsty.

Londonderry's dinner in the evening was given in the long

gallery at Londonderry House, and was very magnificently done, with the accompaniment of a band and the rest of it. He certainly has the instincts of the *grand seigneur*, and some of the fine qualities one likes to associate with a stately family tradition. The dinner was over very quickly, which I rather regretted, as I had Colonel Saunderson next me, who was very racy and amusing. He told one good story of the late Cardinal Vaughan and the Chief Rabbi Adler, who were once side by side at a public dinner. Cardinal Vaughan was eating an excellent ham, and said to the Chief Rabbi: "I wonder if the day will ever come when you will eat this." "On the day of Your Eminence's wedding," was the reply as quick as lightning. He also gave us an account of an address he delivered on Mount Zion to a crowd of all religions and races, which suggested the enquiry whether he had any pretensions to the position of a new Messiah.

The multitude at Lansdowne House was prodigious, and it was difficult to get away. Fortunately, I found a back exit into Curzon Street, and, though it was raining heavily, walked till I could obtain a cab. I was very glad to see the Duke of Devonshire there in uniform, indicating that he had dined with the Prime Minister. I had been consulted on the point some weeks ago when the invitation was sent him, and strongly urged his going, pointing out that the King's birthday was not so purely political an occasion as the opening of the Session, and that his refusal might be construed as a permanent breach in his public relations with the Prime Minister, which I presumed was hardly intended, whereas his presence could not compromise his independence.

June 25th.—The Government are in the greatest straits; the material for the daily conflict with the Opposition wastes in the using so rapidly that they are only saved by the difficulties of their opponents. Thus, in Committee of Supply on Thursday night, a motion to report progress from the front Opposition bench saved them from a defeat which must have involved resignation, their men having deliberately left the House, though they knew the debate was to be carried on after twelve o'clock.

July 1st–4th.—Three days' yachting with Freddy Bentinck in his newly purchased yawl of 42 tons. We left Swanage at 3 p.m. on Friday and got inside Calshot at eight, having had a foul tide but fair wind the whole way. The sea was very rough outside the Needles, and, as the wind was aft, the motion was irregular. On Saturday we rounded the Nab, where we got into the Channel seaway with a strong wind from the south-west, which made sailing a real pleasure. We came up to Southampton about five, and on Sunday, which was squally, went to Ryde, where we had luncheon on board "The Joyeuse," and returned in the evening to the neighbourhood of our old anchorage off

Hythe pier. We landed and walked up to Langdown, where Hobart, with great pride, showed us many souvenirs of the Coronation, including two stools of a most sacrosanct character, as it was conveyed in suitable language that they had been pressed by the forms of Duchesses !

July 12th.—The story is told that Pembroke went to Buckingham Palace the other day to enquire when it would be convenient for the King to receive an address, and found His Majesty having his corns cut. The King asked him whether he had got the address with him, and, on being told he had, said, " Why not present it now ? " Pembroke replied that he had not the Lord Steward's wand, which is supposed to be *de rigueur* on such an occasion. " Oh, never mind," said the King, " take an umbrella ! " And, rather to Pembroke's consternation, the ceremony was performed under such novel conditions.

I had luncheon with Lady Vera Herbert, and in the evening we dined at Londonderry House, where was Princess Christian and a large party. Certainly Lady Londonderry is a most admirable hostess, and her stately beauty gave a fitting dignity to a great banquet.

July 13th.—I wound up the sittings of the Physical Deterioration Committee this morning : that is, we put everything, as we hope, into its final shape, and shall only meet next week to sign the report. On the strength of this work achieved, I gave myself a half-holiday, and went down to Osterley in Cecily Butler's motor. It was a delightful day, and singularly free from dust ; foliage, flowers, and the broad lawns all looking their best as a theatre for a very large and brilliant company.

July 15th.—Arnold-Forster's speech yesterday marks an important turning-point in our military history. The occasion was unique, as the main features of the scheme implied reversal of his predecessor's work, and involve a practical repudiation of some of the main principles of Esher's laborious attempt to reorganise the War Office. I saw Fleetwood Wilson in the evening, who gave me a graphic account of the reception of the speech in the House of Commons, where old rancours ensured it a favourable hearing. His predecessor could hardly have enjoyed himself in the course of the two hours the speech occupied, and he must sometimes have regretted that he had revoked the resignation actually, I am told, penned a few weeks ago. Nor did the Secretary of State make it easier for him by the manner in which he dealt with the extinction of the Army Corps nomenclature, though, with what I believe was a genuine desire to consider the other's susceptibilities, he took the line of assuming the term had no significance. The bold idea of recurring to the original conception of the Militia and identifying it with the Territorial Army is held in suspense, owing to the danger of exciting the opposition

of the militia colonels, whose social importance is so deeply concerned with the maintenance of the force on its present footing.

Arnold-Forster's personal equation in this matter counts for a good deal: he has entered upon the task with the enthusiasm of the apostle and the spirit of the martyr; he bears upon him the marks of the *illuminé* and suffers from a superexcitation of the nerves such as six hundred years ago produced the *stigmata* and other evidences of an overheated imagination. Fleetwood Wilson told me a curious story in illustration of this. Of course, the working out of the financial estimates attending the new scheme has thrown a stupendous burden on the department of the War Office over which he presides, under stress of which his principal actuary has gone mad, and he has been kept at work for days in succession up to 2 a.m. At last he went to A. F., with whom he is on excellent terms, and said that unless he had more help he should break down, upon which the Secretary of State replied: "This will kill me, but, provided we give the British Empire an army, what does it matter what becomes of you and me?" F. W.'s rejoinder was to the effect that he should be delighted to give the British Empire an army, but had no intention of killing himself if he could help it.

The practical effect of a few months' administration appears to have proved the hollowness of the Esher scheme in most important particulars. Thus, one of its main ideas was the financial responsibility of the members of the Council for the expenditure that fell within the area of their administrative duties; but, on the discovery that this involved their appearance before the Committee of Public Accounts to defend items of expenditure to which the Auditor-General took exception, they one and all begged to be relieved of such an invidious and burdensome independence, and military finance remains as absolutely as ever in the hands of a civil department.

July 18*th*.—We had a very pleasant Sunday at Chevening: the Donoughmores, Lady Vera Herbert, James Lowther and his wife, the Arthur Somersets, Killanin, and Reggy Lucas. Donoughmore confirmed what I had been told as to the final form of Arnold-Forster's proposals, with the modification that the year's service with the Colours was to be preceded by three months at the depot: he further corroborated the view taken by Fleetwood Wilson that the standing obstacle to any sweeping military reform was the shrinking of the soldiers from responsibility—a defect that is as fatal in the office as on the field.

July 21*st*.—The Duke of Devonshire raised in the Lords the position of the Government towards Mr. Chamberlain after Lords Lansdowne and Selborne had become Vice-Presidents of the reorganised Liberal Unionist Association. His speech was delivered with a good deal of emphasis and some bitterness, and

Lord Lansdowne was not very successful in removing the impression that there was a good deal of ambiguity about the situation. Indeed, it is becoming more apparent every day that Mr. Chamberlain holds the key of the citadel, and can force the Government at any moment into an acceptance of his terms. The pending elections at Oswestry and Mid. Lanark are being fought by out-and-out supporters of fiscal reform, and the result will do something to put substance into the issue, as it has to be fought within the ranks of the Unionist Party, who have till now been employed in beating the air.

Lady Tweedmouth has gone down to Guisachan to die. Three weeks ago it was revealed to her that she was incurably ill. For ten days she fulfilled her customary engagements with cheerfulness and serenity, and then, the need of concealment over, she quietly gathered herself up and disappeared from the world that had known her so long. Though never in the ordinary sense a popular woman, she has filled a prominent place with rare distinction, and her death will be a serious blow to the social interests of Liberalism.

July 23rd–25th.—Sunday at Copped Hall. The William Lowthers, Lady Clancarty, Lady Katherine French, the Archie Morrisons, Wrays, and De Mauley, were the party. The garden has been laid out with considerable ambition, but it is on a scale that requires a more splendid edifice as its centre and crown.

July 27th.—We have received from the War Office the draft orders which are to limit and define the functions of the Army Council and Inspector-General respectively, and regulate the financial administration. Their general effect is to create a system very different from that adumbrated by the Esher Commission. Following the Orders in Council that constitute the Admiralty, the Secretary of State is vested with full power to assign their duties to the various members of the Council, and the autocracy of the Civil Power is thus made absolute in every branch of military organisation. The theoretic primacy *inter pares* of the Esher report disappears; the military members of Council are to be the nominees and the instruments of the Secretary of State, altogether shorn of that independence of function and judgment which, in the eyes of Esher and his colleagues, would make it their duty to resign if their advice was disregarded. No highly advertised experiment was ever cast at shorter notice upon the rubbish-heap. Ward tells me the scheme has been explained to the King by the Secretary of State, but I have made a very strong point of *his* being present at the Council when the Orders are submitted.

Londonderry, Douglas, and Sir M. Hicks Beach sat as a Committee of Council to receive a deputation from the States of Jersey on the financial crisis in that island. Our difficulty has been with

the Home Office, who pressed exacting demands in an ill-considered way. Fortunately Beach's influence was thrown into the scale of moderation, and Chalmers's régime at the Home Office has rendered that department more amenable to reason. Douglas announced himself as quite ready to throw over the points for which Cunynghame and Digby had striven so pertinaciously a year ago, and I have little doubt of a working agreement being reached. Beach showed great patience and courtesy in dealing with the deputation, and his financial knowledge enabled him to make some very valuable suggestions. The loss of his sagacity and experience after the next General Election will do more than any other single event to depress the intellectual level of the Conservative party in Parliament; and it will be a great pity if his counsels cannot be retained for the benefit of the country in one or other branch of the Legislature.

The Donoughmores, Wrays, and Cecily Butler dined with me at Willis's: a very pleasant evening.

July 29th.—The Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee [1] was issued yesterday, but "The Westminster Gazette" was alone in a position to notice it, which they did favourably enough. The London papers this morning have given some sixteen columns to it in all: "The Times," "Standard," and "Daily News" are loudest in its praise. The last-named introduces the subject in an article under the heading "God save the people," and then proceeds to demonstrate that the Report is the most important document that has appeared of late years. "The Standard" lays stress upon the weight and moderation of the recommendations, and all are unanimous that the work has been done quickly and well, and should be productive of marked results in stimulating and educating the public mind. My friends in the Civil Service have also expressed themselves in terms of emphatic appreciation, and I have every reason to be content with the general verdict. But what pleased me most was the Duke of Devonshire, who wrote: "So far as I can judge, from what I have read of it, and about it, it seems to me a most satisfactory piece of work, on which I can congratulate you most sincerely. I met Sir F. Treves the other day at Cowes, who spoke of it with much interest and approval." Sir William Church, the President of the Royal College of Physicians, also wrote in terms of very cordial commendation. Perhaps the highest tribute came from George Murray [2] for having done the work of a Royal Commission at a tenth of the cost.

August 10th.—Council for the prorogation took place to-day, an hour before the King's departure for Marienbad. I had summoned Arnold-Forster in case the King required information upon

[1] A summary of its findings is printed as an Appendix.
[2] Secretary of the Treasury.

the War Office orders ; but the Secretary of State had been with him yesterday, and all was smooth sailing. The substance of the Army Council Order is in effect the reservation of all power to the Secretary of State, and the assignment of functions to the various members of the Council is entirely at his discretion.

The King took the unusual step of remitting a draft Order for reconsideration by a Committee of the Privy Council. By some misapprehension on Knollys's part, the King's wishes as to the grant of a Charter to the Society for the Protection of Birds had been wrongly described (so it was said), and, as these are wholly matters of prerogative, the final decision is to a large extent in his hands. A number of prominent people are interested in the Society, and, though it is as yet a body of no great importance, it has considerable opportunities of useful development.

It is now certain that the Session will close on Saturday. Though the Government have survived, they cannot be said to have emerged from the ordeal with credit, and, like Sieyès, must be content with the claim " J'ai vécu." The passions excited by the Welsh Defaulting Authorities Bill, and the circumstances in which it passed through Committee in the House of Commons, will not be easily allayed, and the transfer of the scene of the conflict to the Welsh County Councils is likely to prove a source of trouble.

Lady Tweedmouth's death will aggravate the difficulties of the Opposition. She had the power and the address to bring social tact and influence to the removal of political jealousy and personal rivalry, and there is no great lady left in their ranks with similar resources. The need for the exercise of the gifts she possessed in a remarkable degree will arise with the first call to begin Cabinet-making. I did not know Lady Tweedmouth well ; she was always a commanding personality, and could be a gracious one. She inherited a considerable tradition and maintained it with dignity and distinction.

August 11*th*.—I have been reading, with close attention and deep interest, the last volume in which Haldane develops and brings to a conclusion the thesis that has been the subject of his Gifford lectures. He frees himself from the obscurities that have hampered his argument in its earlier stages, as he rises to its full height and embraces the compass of its vast orbit. Reality once reached in the permanence and immanence of mind as expressed in every phase of the distinctions that fall within it, he proceeds to adjust the relation of its absolute, self-conscious, and infinite form, as represented in God, to the finite conditions of human existence, and uses, as an illustration of the altered conception of things it introduces, the idea of eternal life.

In a passage of singular and sustained beauty, he clothes the idea with its true significance as expressing a relation of spirit

to spirit, and, passing undismayed the dizzy precipices of transcendental speculation, gains the point where he affirms that the humblest soul who at the last and greatest extremity is assured that his Redeemer liveth enjoys an insight only different in form from that of the profoundest thinker.

His whole treatment of the subject, as may be seen, enjoys a singular and most attractive freedom from the formulary tyrannies of conventional criticism.

August 13th–22nd.—On leaving London I spent ten days at Ammerdown, which I greatly enjoyed. In the course of the time three or four people came and went, but we were never more than six in the house, so that the current of life was easy and I had many hours which, without let or hindrance, could be given to the pursuits I love best. It is in the intimacies of such an existence, with her children and all her closest surroundings, that my hostess shines with the most extraordinary lustre.

I think it is Schopenhauer who says there may be beauty without grace, but no grace exists without beauty of the highest order, and every hour spent with some people announces proof of this dictum. It is difficult to say whether the evidence of such beauty consists mainly in the complexity of the gifts that contribute to its perfection or in the simplicity and directness of their appeal to the perceptions; but, however it may come about, the effect is absolute and unchallengeable.

August 24th–September 14th.—I passed this time at St. Briac in Brittany, where Spencer Chapman lent us a cottage for seven weeks. The coast is here broken and tormented in every direction by the inroads of the sea, which takes on the most diverse and vivid colours, as it changes every hour in depth with the ebb and flow of the tides. The view westward is one of the most picturesque I know anywhere; bounded by the great promontory of Fréhel. With a fine sunset, sea, sky, and rocks share in a riot of fulgurant hues, and the whole west is one huge conflagration. The people have a simple charm that makes residence among them most attractive, and there is always behind the graphic incidents of French character the permanent glamour of France—the France of history, the France of immortality. It was France that founded modern philosophy with Descartes and spiritualised it with Malebranche; it was there that the influence of women first gave refinement to society and supplied literature with a motive; it was there that the ideas of toleration first shaped themselves in a great instrument of state policy, like the Edict of Nantes; it was there that the disintegrating effects of criticism prepared the ground for the disappearance of feudalism; it was from France the impulse came that dissolved the old world in agony and gave life and passion to the present; it was, finally, from France that the eloquence of Rousseau and Chateaubriand burst, to submerge

the literary landmarks of the past and give a new faith to all forms of art, and no child of Western civilisation can ever forget the obligations he owes to this incomparable country: *enfant de la lumière, génératrice des idées.*

These thoughts recurred to me when, after passing from the gloom of the church and the streets, I stood upon the sunswept ramparts of St. Malo, and against an horizon as wide and romantic as the story of France—the tomb of Chateaubriand below.

"Dans ce sépulcre, bâti sur un écueil, son immortalité sera comme fut sa vie, déserte des autres et tout entourée d'orages. . . ."

September 17th.—We returned to England via Jersey, in company with the Freeman-Thomases. The bailiff met us on landing, and I arranged with him for Freeman to pay a visit in the afternoon to his herd. He was able to assure me that the financial crisis was at an end by the acceptance of all the amendments the Privy Council had pressed upon the States.

After luncheon I took Mrs. Freeman-Thomas to see Mount Orgueil, in which she displayed an intelligent interest, and we drove out to the bailiff's house in the evening for tea. A tremendous gale shook the island on the night of the 15th, and it was still blowing very hard when we started the following morning. After leaving Guernsey, however, it became more tranquil, and we found a dead calm on the English side of the Channel.

September 18th–October 1st.—After six days at Bemersyde I went to the Enfields' at Aberchalder on the 24th, where I spent a very enjoyable week. One day we rode up to a loch behind Invergarry, taking luncheon with us, for the purpose of trout-fishing. It was a lovely day, and the ride across the forest took nearly two hours, unfolding at every turn long lines of moor and mountain all shimmering in the sun, and with great violet shadows marking their surface. The fishing was a qualified success, but two trout were taken. The ride home by a longer route with a fairly good road through, for the most part, birchen woods, was full of charm. The sun was by that time declining, and the flush of its level rays upon every object we passed seemed almost to kindle the forest into a subdued fire. The first changes of the birch under the sorceries of autumn lent a wonderful softness to the afternoon landscape.

October 2nd.—My wife and I spent the Sunday with Haldane, his mother and sister, in their castle above Auchterarder, looking across Strathearn upon a magnificent panorama of the Grampian Mountains. Haldane is an excellent host, and talked most fully of recent preoccupations. Lady Tweedmouth was one of his greatest friends, and he had much to say of the courage and for-

titude with which she faced the painful passages that waited upon the end. It was only on her return to London at the beginning of June that the doctors diagnosed any serious cause of alarm. Notwithstanding their intimations, she adhered to her engagement to spend Ascot week at Windsor, and it was not till the following Sunday at Esher that, worn out with the struggle to carry herself through the week, she showed unmistakable signs of collapse. It was then she told him that the doctors were to come to a final decision in a day or two, in the course of which he heard from her to the effect that her life could not be prolonged for more than a few weeks, but that she intended to go on fulfilling the engagements she had formed, if possible, over the date in July fixed for the wedding of Tweedmouth's niece, which was to take place from their house, and then she would go, like a wounded bird, home to Guisachan to die. In the meantime she begged him, as the only person who knew her state besides her husband, to see her as often as he could while she remained in London, and from that time to her departure for Scotland not a day passed without his coming. On one occasion he asked her if she minded going, on which she said, "Don't think for a moment I am afraid. I have never been afraid of death; but I might have been of great use to Tweedmouth in days to come." Another day, when she was evidently suffering much, in reply to his enquiries she said proudly, "I can bear a little pain!" The courage of the race asserted itself to the last, and after her death Tweedmouth told him that in all her long agony he was never certain whether she was suffering acute pain or only the intense discomfort that is inseparable from the malady. Once she asked him for a book, and then he did a very bold thing: he sent her a story of Tolstoy's dealing with the terrible sufferings of a man dying of cancer but towards whose end an interval came of perfectly painless serenity. She appreciated the significance of the message, and thanked him for the strength the book had been to her. On one of her last days in London she attended a polo-match to gratify her son's wish. When she reached Guisachan, her spirit showed no signs of failure; she refused to remain in her bedroom, and dragged herself up and down stairs till within forty-eight hours of the end. She sent for the Catholic priest and gave him the fullest instructions about all the members of his flock in whom she was interested (there was hardly anyone in the vicinity who had not at some period or other experienced her kindness), and subsequently she did the same with the Free Church minister. She saw her sisters, and left nothing undone that required attention. For two days before she died she did not leave her bed, and about six o'clock in the evening, her last words to Tweedmouth were, "Now let me go home."

Some lines of Emily Brontë's, which, most significantly,

having regard to what was coming, had fixed themselves in her mind, were found in her work-basket after her death :

"And if I pray, the only prayer
That moves my lips for me
Is, 'leave the heart that now I bear
And give me liberty.'

"Yes, as my swift days near their goal,
'Tis all that I implore,
In life and death a chainless soul
With courage to endure."

No woman ever held her head higher in crossing the threshold of silence, or left behind her the record of a firmer resolution *in arduis*. To find a parallel we must go to the seventeenth century for the sufferings of Madame de La Sablière "dans les tortures et les dégoûts" of the same "mal dévorant" and her last letter to Rancé, which Anatole France declares we cannot read "sans songer à ce que dit Pascal des misères de l'homme et de ses grandeurs."

The situation created by the judgment of the House of Lords in the United Free Church case naturally came in for a good deal of discussion. Though deploring the error the Court made in treating the issue as a mere application of the ordinary law of Trusts, Haldane considered that much good was likely to come out of evil by directing attention to the idea of a Church upon which his argument was based. For too long thoughtful minds in Scotland had put up with a use-and-wont mechanical theory that had no traditional force behind it, and contained no germinal principle. If, however, churches are to be free to pursue the lines of development inherent in their nature as societies with an invisible Head, it can only be by giving prominence to their spiritual attributes, with the result of widening the bases of sympathy and opening the door to a deeper unity. This result is, it is said, already assured by the response the judgment has awakened among the younger and more progressive section of the Established Church, who see the necessity of refusing any longer to be confined within the narrow limits of obsolete confessions of faith.

On the political outlook Haldane was particularly instructive. He believed it might be taken for certain Arthur Balfour and Chamberlain were much less in sympathy, and that the first-named was weary of his position and did not care how soon the Government came to an end. Without going so far as to say that was his intention, Haldane evidently thinks the Prime Minister has out-ridden J. C., who, he believes, strongly desired a dissolution this time last year, when he (Haldane) considers he might very possibly have won, though he admits Asquith did not share his fears. His idea is that Beach's influence staved off a dissolution, and that the secret of his strong support of the Government all through the Session is to be found in the engagement he gave in

return for a promise from the Prime Minister not to dissolve in the autumn. If this is so, Beach has checkmated Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour has pursued a course which, however disguised, must have left some soreness in the ranks of ardent fiscal reformers. By his dexterity he has gained time to give his experiment prominence, and can claim the credit of having kept the party together during a peculiarly trying Session.

As to the leadership and composition of the next Liberal Government, much of course would depend on where the centre of gravity lay after the election, wherein consisted the importance of not coming into office before a dissolution: for his part, he thought that circumstances would compel the more turbulent element in the party to suppress themselves for a time, and that the new combination would not be so shortlived as some people supposed. Lord Rosebery would not take office, and in these circumstances Haldane saw no alternative to Campbell-Bannerman. Indeed, in conversation with Knollys, he had told him that he did not see how the King could do otherwise than send for him, nor did he believe there would be any insuperable difficulty in the way of his forming an Administration. He might take a peerage, which would leave Asquith free to lead the Commons, probably as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Edward Grey would take the Foreign Office, the impossibility of combining the work of that office with the obligations of the House of Commons being in his opinion exaggerated. The two men from whom he anticipated trouble were John Morley and Dilke. It would seem that the first-named is not exempt from ordinary ambitions. Dilke is more formidable, as he has a following, is not only able, but thoroughly unscrupulous, besides being inclined to put forward the most extravagant pretensions, having the idea that his long exclusion from office entitles him to a kind of cumulative compensation.

October 4th and 5th.—Twenty-four hours in Edinburgh, which is always a pleasure. I got into the castle after it was closed to the public, and watched the twilight deepening over the city and on the slopes of the Pentlands. The route back to the hotel through the old town in the gathering gloom had a great attraction in the mystery and appeal to the imagination which the twilight evokes both in solitude and among the haunts of men. At dinner I was joined by "Pom" Macdonnell, who was in Edinburgh on the business of his office. He dilated on his anxiety to get something done to save Linlithgow Palace, now roofless and forlorn, from further ruin. Mary of Guise described it in one of her letters as the most beautiful house she had ever seen, and he says it is certainly the best specimen of Renaissance architecture in Scotland, with mural sculpture of great interest and excellence.

October 5th–13th.—These days were passed at Duncombe Park. The satisfaction of being there was on this occasion enhanced by witnessing Ulrica Baring's happiness. She has found the magnetic point, and all the natural radiance of her spirit is set free. She is touched with a softer grace and more penetrating charm. I saw a good deal of Everard Baring in the companionship of four days' shooting, and greatly liked him. He is a man of high ideals, and quiet but persuasive force. Their lives should be charged with benediction and light.

October 15th.—My return to London was clouded by the tragic death of my brother's wife, a few days after her confinement, and within fifteen months of her wedding-day. I had not seen much of her, but all I learnt gave me the impression of a gentle and winning nature. She was buried this afternoon under the walls of the church where she had been christened, in sunshine as bright as that in which she had died three days before, so that, like Renée Mauperin, "La mort s'approchait d'elle comme une lumière."

October 18th.—Sir F. Pollock adumbrates, in a communication to "The Times," an important scheme for the evolution of an Imperial Committee of Advice out of the Privy Council, the general idea of which has already been advocated by Haldane. If his political friends take the matter up it may result in a large transformation for my office, as it would seem expedient through its means to develop any secretariat which may be created in connection with such a Committee.

I saw Esher this afternoon, who is still engaged perfecting the details of War Office administration. Knowing how very substantially the recent Order in Council deviated from his recommendations, I asked him whether they had not been somewhat grudgingly accepted by the military authorities, and his reply was characteristic of the man. Instead of complaining that he had been in the least degree slighted or ignored, which a less judicious person might have done, he displayed that easy spirit of accommodation to circumstances which has always been one of the secrets of his success, and declared his belief that it was quite right at the outset to give the Secretary of State full power to assign what work he thought fit to his subordinates, in preference to the rigid allocation of functions his Commission had advised, as by these means he would be able to proceed tentatively towards the goal and more readily retrace any step that experience might show to be mistaken. He admitted that ultimate success depended on the capacity of soldiers for administration, and deplored their lack of some of the essential qualities: their tendency, to wit, to look for orders to be obeyed rather than principles to be developed. The instrument at present to hand was, he said, of very second-rate quality, but, if the ideal

he and his colleagues had before them was kept steadily in view, he had every confidence that in the course of a few years a generation of trained military administrators would be brought into being and some distance traversed towards the solution of one aspect of the problem. In all he said one noted the man of lucid mind and diplomatic temper, and that very real political sagacity which consists in utilising what you can get for the moment as the point of departure for reaching the next stage along the road that leads to the ultimate goal.

October 24th.—The Council this morning was coincident with the arrival of the news that the Russian Fleet had made an unprovoked attack on a flotilla of trawlers in the North Sea, resulting in the loss of one boat, the death of two men, and the wounding of several others. The King had been much disturbed by the news, and in his conversations with Ministers betrayed great anxiety lest in the present excited feeling at St. Petersburg peace should be seriously menaced. We had three members of the Cabinet present besides Windsor, St. John Brodrick being the first since 1714 to attend a Council without being summoned. Graham Murray, with whom I had a talk before the Council, was very resolute in the conviction that Russia must be made to give summary satisfaction for the outrage. He had just returned from Roumania, where public opinion is very anti-Russian owing to the intrigues of that Power to impede Roumania's access to the Danube, and intended to put the King in possession of all the information he had gathered on the subject.

October 28th.—Four days of great tension have elapsed, and it was not till the Cabinet was in session this morning that Benckendorff was in a position to say that the British demands would be met. The obstinacy of the war party in St. Petersburg very nearly brought about a rupture. Fortunately, at the last moment the direct intervention of the Czar was invoked by Lamsdorff, who was probably not uninfluenced by the judicious movements of the British Fleet, and the required engagements were given.

Most of the British newspapers kept their heads, but the opportunity offered by the more or less accidental dispositions of the Home, Channel, and Mediterranean Squadrons appeared to many to offer an opportunity, too favourable to be lost, for wiping out the Russian Fleet, and this feeling reflected itself in the expression of disappointment that appeared in certain quarters when it was known that a pacific solution had been reached. The action of the Russian Admiral had very properly earned the reprobation of Europe, and the moderate yet determined line taken by the British Government will go far towards confirming the confidence entertained, both at home and abroad, in the diplomatic skill of Lord Lansdowne.

November 2nd.—There has been a considerable reaction in

the attitude of the public towards the agreement with Russia, partly owing to the unfortunate circumstance that it was announced under the conditions governing a platform speech at a great party demonstration, and partly because, the apprehension of war once removed, a large number of people revert to the idea that heroism can only be displayed by shaking fists in somebody's face. The danger is not over, as the last few days have borne witness. The war party at St. Petersburg have made a supreme effort to recover the upper hand, the Czar is quite unstable, and might at any moment surrender himself to the control of the Grand Dukes, who are charging Benckendorff with having betrayed his country, and Lamsdorff has had the greatest difficulty in maintaining his lead.

There is something very impressive in the way an overwhelming naval force has been collected at a moment's notice, in order to police the seas in the interests of international commerce, and that without any ostentation or display. The fact is indeed a far greater tribute to the power and position of this country than any menaces to Russia, and it would be well if that school of British journalism which expresses itself in the pompous and pretentious platitudes of Mr. Spenser Wilkinson could be induced to realise it.

We dined this evening with the Adeanes quite quietly. What a charm of gesture, manner, and speech she has!

November 8th.—I had luncheon with Austen Chamberlain for the purpose of going over the list of Sheriffs to be nominated on the 12th. He came straight from a Cabinet Committee, at which, *inter alia*, the terms of Lord Lansdowne's forthcoming speech at the Guildhall were discussed. He assured me the Government had reason to be satisfied that the result of the enquiry into the North Sea incident would be to affix responsibility on the right persons, and there was every ground for confidence in the honesty and pacific intentions of Lamsdorff; but, of course, the difficulty of predicting the action of the Russian Government lay in striking an equation among the various influences to which the Czar was exposed. He confirmed all I had heard of the great risk the negotiations ran at one moment of falling into the hands of the Russian Admiralty and the war party, which nothing but the steadfastness of Lamsdorff had averted.

The purchase of the new Titian (a portrait of Ariosto) for the National Gallery was also touched upon, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had added £2,000 to the £20,000 subscribed by private persons (Astor and Pierpont Morgan being the most notable); the picture being acquired for £30,000. A. Chamberlain had been much amused by the gratitude displayed by Lord Carlisle, who, in a voice trembling with emotion, told him he was the first who had ever treated them like gentlemen.

November 10*th.*—Lord Lansdowne's speeeh was a dignified and temperate review of the situation. At the moment he is the central figure in the Administration by virtue of his diplomatie sueeesses and taetful management of the most diffieult situations, and it was therefore peculiarly appropriate that he should be ealled upon to represent the Government at the Guildhall on this oceasion.

I am sorry that in the meagre list of Birthday Honours the Prime Minister has not felt able to recommend the K.C.B. for Blaekie Hope, notwithstanding the backing Lord Londonderry gave to my very strong recommendation and the advocaey of Haldane and the Lord Chaneellor. The opposition eame from the permanent element in the Treasury, George Murray being apparently unaware that the names of the officers of the Privy Couneil are familiar in parts of the British Empire to which the fame of the Secretary of the Treasury has never penetrated.

November 12*th.*—The nomination of Sheriffs took place this morning at 11 a.m., as, being Saturday, those eoneerned wanted to get away. The Chaneellor of the Exchequer dealt very summarily with most of the cases, but a somewhat long argument took place on the elaim of a resident in the Isle of Wight to exemption in the County of Southampton, and another on the elaim of Mr. Coates, M.P., to serve for Surrey in spite of the resolution of the House of Commons of January 9th, 1689, deelaring the nomination of an M.P. a breach of privilege. Both claims were overruled, but Mr. Coates's name was plaeed third among the nominations, in order to give an opportunity for the question to be raised in the House of Commons itself.

November 13*th.*—I attended the High Mass at the Catholic Cathedral hard by, and wish I could give an adequate impression of the effeet it produces. It is not only that it commemorates every detail of the world's greatest tragedy, but therein seems presented to the imaginative sense an epitome and foreshadowing of the whole magnificent sequence of events whieh makes up the story of the Latin Church. I see her at all the stages of the long struggle with pagan Rome, torn with many an agony and illustrated by many a martyrdom; I see her at last vietorious, emerging from the dust and blood of Cataeomb and Colosseum; I see her next holding the Cross before the virgin hordes of the North as she moulds their naseent energy to the purposes of a new eivilisation; I see, too, the long proeession of white-robed monks and mailed warriors she sent forth to eonquer and to die in her eause, from those who assembled at Clermont in the eleventh century to those who perished at Lepanto in the sixteenth. I see her then take on the pomp and power of the mediæval Papacy and give laws to emperors and kings. I see her later striving with the best minds of the earlier Renaissance to reeoncile Par-

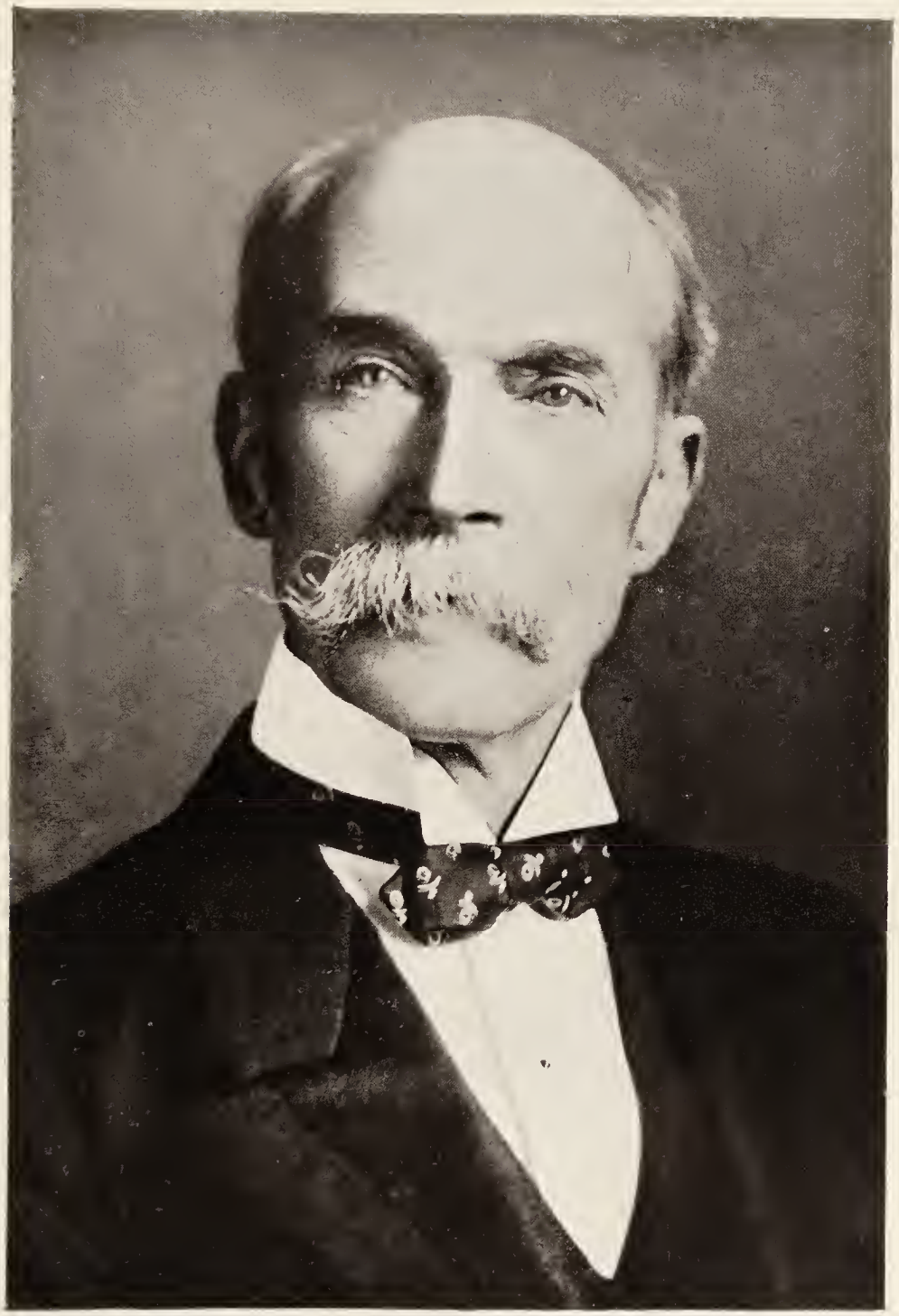

Photo by Elliott and Fry, 63 Baker Street, W.

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G.

nassus and Calvary, and, reeling from the shock and countershock of moral and political revolution, recover the motive of her origin in the harmonies of Palestrina, and their counterpart in the life and death of Philip Neri. All this, and how much more, is hidden in the music of the Mass!

November 14th.—Council at Buckingham Palace, at which the new Great Seal was formally delivered to the Lord Chancellor. By the King's instructions we had arranged with the Deputy Master of the Mint to give the Chief Wax an opportunity of taking an impression, which has satisfied the Lord Chancellor as to the way in which the new design was cut. The question of what should be done with the Scottish seal arose, as since the accession of the late Queen its custody, which had previously been in the hands of a permanent official, had become vested in the Secretary of Scotland, and Graham Murray accepted my suggestion that the King should be asked to follow the English precedent in respect to both the delivery of the new seal and the defacement of the old one. Accordingly, both he and the Lord Chancellor attended. Douglas and Kintore were also there, and, in pursuance of the new arrangement by which non-official Privy Councillors in either House of Parliament are to be summoned from time to time, J. L. Wharton, so that with Alec Hood, who was to be sworn, there were seven in all. The King was seated, as he had a sprained foot, or a touch of the gout, but was in excellent spirits and took a lively interest in the new seals. The Chancellor took the new seal to submit to His Majesty in audience before the Council, but the Secretary for Scotland was not asked to do so. The vivacity and agility of the octogenarian Chancellor, in performing his genuflexions and supporting the weight of the two seals, was astonishing. The King elected to deface the old one himself, but gave either face a very slight tap. There are some 350 oz. of silver in each side, so that the old seal (and this is the second the Chancellor has acquired) becomes a valuable perquisite.

In view of the fact that Lord Balfour was in office at the date of the King's accession, Graham Murray will hand the old seal to him without making any claim to half of it, as Brougham did at the accession of William IV.

The incident of the Council in which I took the greatest interest was the swearing in of Alec Hood, a friend of mine for thirty years, and my best man on the occasion of my marriage seventeen years ago. The King told me he would keep the photograph of the new seals and also the impressions of the old one the Chancellor had brought with him.

November 17th.—Luncheon at the Guildhall to meet the King and Queen of Portugal. A typical November day, still and sombre; the fog was not, however, thick enough to impede locomotion,

and the effect of the uniforms of the escort looming through the obscurity as the *cortège* departed, was decidedly good. The ceremony was somewhat impaired by the awkwardness of the Lord Mayor, a worthy portmanteau-maker; but the setting was sufficiently sumptuous to overshadow personal defects. The King is a stout man of blonde type, with a huge double chin that makes him look most uncomfortable in a military stock. However, he was evidently bent on being agreeable, and read his speech in clear and pointed English of the most complimentary kind. The Queen is a tall woman who carries herself with great dignity and has withal a charming smile. She exhibited a very pretty spirit in crossing herself devoutly when grace was said by the Lord Mayor's chaplain. I sat between Eric Barrington and Sinclair, Archdeacon of London, an acquaintance since Balliol days. It appears he has his own reasons for holding the episcopate in no great esteem, as he deplored the neglect of the Prime Minister to put men of learning and weight on the episcopal bench.

On leaving the hall, the Royal Party retired for a few moments, and, on the King of Portugal lighting a large cigar, the Lord Mayor did the same. A short time afterwards it fell to his lot to offer his arm to the Queen to escort her to the carriage, which he did forgetting that the cigar was still between his lips. On realising what he had done, his confusion was abject, but he recovered himself enough to thrust it into his pocket, where it must have burnt a large hole in his clothing: at any rate, it was not seen again.

Barrington was very full of a mistake made by Erroll in presenting Ministers and others to the King of Portugal after the banquet at Windsor. He had some thirty-five names on the list, and by an extraordinary mischance his sole inadvertence gave acute annoyance to the victim of it: in presenting St. John Brodrick he gave his name as the Right Hon. Arnold-Forster, Secretary of State for War!

Another amusing incident arose out of Lord Rosebery's forgetfulness in going down to the banquet in plain clothes and kneebreeches, when full dress with trousers had been expressly ordered. He did not discover his mistake till in the train, where of course no remedy was possible, and he had to present himself to the King and Queen as he was. The King received him with the very tactful and adroit remark: "I presume you have come down in the suite of the American ambassador."

Last night we had a little dinner, consisting of Lady Stair, Eva Anstruther, Cecily Butler, Geo. Russell, Herbert Maxwell, and Riversdale Walrond. Lady Stair retains her beauty to a wonderful degree, and is a very striking figure. She can still exercise at will a very potent charm. George Russell was as good and incisive a *raconteur* as ever. One story he told of Portsmouth

going down to the Union at Oxford to make a speech on temperance, deserves record. He began by telling his audience that, after prolonged study of the problem, he had come to the conclusion that drunkenness in England was due to three causes: (1) the adulteration of liquor—which did not seem unreasonable; (2) the taste for drink; and (3) the desire for more: an anticlimax which Milner afterwards described as "a masterpiece of *exact* thinking."

November 21st.—The Enfields, Lady Hylton, and Herbert Stephen dined with us, and we subsequently went to the Mermaid Society's production of Ford's "Broken Heart." Its literary beauty was marred by defective delivery of blank verse, and from some lack of grip in the acting the motive seemed to fail here and there in sequence. However, there was enough elemental passion in the piece to give it coherence and afford a vision of life freed from its cherished trappings; thus, in the evolution of character as fate, illustrating Chateaubriand's fine dictum, "To recover the desert I took refuge in the theatre": a criticism which indeed might fittingly be made the test of great drama; of its capacity, that is to say, to bring the creative imagination back to the primordial conditions of its being, to that solitude, to wit, whence it draws its strength and its inspiration.

November 22nd–26th.—At Elvetham for two days' shooting. The coverts are among the prettiest I know, and the birds always fly well. We (6 guns) got 340 the first day and 590 the second. Lady Vera Herbert was an interesting member of the party. She has an elaborate grace which some people mistake for self-consciousness, but in truth is only the mark of that studious habit of carriage which comes of a long tradition of good manners. In the outcome of the week Dorothy Calthorpe became engaged to Malmesbury. She has strength of character and brightness of manner, and will probably develop all the graces of a charming woman. He has come on since I met him for the same shoot last year in maturity of thought and definiteness of aim.

November 30th.—I dined last night with Haldane at Brooks's. The party consisted of his brother, Farwell, the Judge, Lord Welby, Wernher, Amery of "The Times," Thomas Raleigh, and J. Horner: an excellent dinner prolonged to a late hour; at least, we did not leave the room upstairs till past midnight. The conversation was both interesting and amusing, but not exceptionally impressive for any quality of brilliance. Lord Welby told me a curious story of Disraeli in the first years after the adoption of Free Trade, when somebody was discussing the possibility of a return to Protection. "Protection," said "Dizzy," "is as dead as Lazarus!" To which the rejoinder was made that Lazarus was not dead but slept; whereupon Disraeli declared, with great emphasis, "Lazarus was not only dead, but damned."

December 1*st*.—I had some talk with Jack Sandars, in the course of which we discussed the selection of a successor to poor Hardwicke.[1] He rather surprised me by saying there was very little choice, and enlarged on the inconvenience of having to fill up such a place for a short time. George Howe could not be expected to leave the Queen; Victor Churchill, though he would be in many ways a suitable person, was, he thought, also too deeply involved with the Court; Newton, whom I suggested, has too much wit. I then mentioned Hylton, whose qualifications he seemed quite disposed to recognise; and there I left it, having said enough to keep his name in view. From the date contemplated for the meeting of Parliament, February 14th, it is clear Ministers do not anticipate any long career of usefulness during the forthcoming Session, and, unless the Prime Minister's health undergoes a great change for the better, he will be the first to congratulate himself on an early exclusion from office. His condition earnestly demands a change; not that I should be slow to recognise the extraordinary courage and fertility of resource he has displayed, though in some respects the results of his action have not altogether realised his expectations. He has put to his credit three considerable achievements: he has dished Mr. Chamberlain, he has kept the Unionist Party, in the main, together, and he has prepared the country to accept with resignation Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as his successor.

December 11*th*.—I saw Victor Churchill and ascertained that, as matters stand, he has no ambitions to succeed Hardwicke; indeed, he could not accept the position if offered, as, much as he would prefer political office, it has been intimated to him from the highest quarter that the reversion of the Lord Chamberlainship is a certainty whenever his political friends are next in power. His belief is that the King intended the broad ribbon of the Bath as a farewell *douceur* to Clarendon, who, however, did not see it in that light, and has clung to his post notwithstanding its irksomeness to a man of his temperament. I am bound to say Victor spoke very nicely both of him and Waldegrave, who also may be said to stand in the way of his advancement, as there can be no question which is the better fitted for the duties of a Whip in the House of Lords. He assured me that his original appointment as Lord-in-Waiting did not arise from the Queen's friendship for his mother, but was the spontaneous proposal of Lord Salisbury: he has a letter from the Queen to Lady Churchill expressing the pleasure it gave her to have his name so submitted.

December 12th.—Council at Buckingham Palace. The Lord President, Clarendon, Minto, and Sir J. Dorington. Minto took the oath, having been appointed by Order in Council two years ago. Clarendon told me he had secured the withdrawal of the

[1] Under-Secretary for War, died November 24th.

play "A Wife without a Smile," an incident in which, if not the main incident, has excited a good deal of criticism for the alleged indecency of its suggestion. Clarendon would not admit more than that it was capable of the interpretation commonly placed on it, and said Pinero was furious at its withdrawal; but, looking to public sentiment in the matter, he could not do otherwise. He complained much of the difficult and onerous work the theatres gave him; and I can conceive that it has grown in volume and intricacy of late years. He also told me that the Queen of Portugal, during her visit to London, displayed her feelings of pleasure on one occasion by giving the King, her host, two sounding kisses before the whole company. It appears the same ceremony formed part of the usual salutation on going to bed.

The Lord President laid before the King my suggestion that at the next Council, when he will be asked to approve an order establishing the Bishopric of Birmingham, the Archbishop of Canterbury should be summoned—a suggestion His Majesty adopted with great eagerness.

December 14th.—After dining last night with the Albert Grays at their almost unique house in Chelsea, I am laid up with influenza. The Attorney-General and Lady Finlay, Sir Herbert and Lady Jekyll, J. Talbots and others, formed on the whole a pleasant party.

December 24th.—Ten days' confinement to the house, though I have thereby purchased some kind of qualified convalescence, has brought me very low, and to rise from a bed of sickness on to an outlook of impenetrable fog prolonged from day to day, in undeviating monotony, is not invigorating to mind or body.

December 25th.—Upon Christmas Day we enter the last week of the year, and, apart from the contrast between the actual state of the world and all that is symbolised in that great anniversary, which is still the nominal preoccupation of Christendom—a subject far too vast to touch upon here—the closing days of this our principal division of time cannot but be the source of pregnant reflection to any thinking man. It was not possible, a year ago, to derive much satisfaction from the outlook, and little has happened since to prepare happier auguries for the future. A devastating war has involved two great nations in an aggregate of slaughter and misery, probably unexampled in the bloodstained annals of the human race, and the effort to maintain Russian preponderance in the Far East threatens to involve the dynasty and the constitution in one common overthrow, so blindly are the forces of reaction appealing to military disaster as a reason for withholding the least concessions to liberty. At home the achievements of statesmanship towards the pacific accommodation of international difference, praiseworthy in themselves, promise no effect in the removal of the financial burdens that

weigh upon industry, and are having their legitimate results in the diminution of production and the consequent loss of employment. Instead of the concentration of attention on the social and industrial problems which are now pressing urgently, and in a short time may press angrily, for some solution, the exigencies of party politics and the influence of an adventurous politician have plunged the public mind into a vortex of fiscal confusion in which the object of all parties seems directed as far as possible to conceal the issues and obscure the judgment, while delay of appeal to the arbitrament of the nation gives an air of unreality to the controversy.

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January 10*th.*—I am told that the preparation of the British case to be laid before the Paris Commission has so far resulted in establishing with almost mathematical precision that the Russian cruiser "Aurora," which there is no doubt received some of the fire of its consort, was in the exact position where the Russian admiral affects to have discovered a hostile torpedo vessel. The evidence of those on board the Norwegian ship "Aldebaran" has been obtained, by which it will be established that she was in the neighbourhood of the cruiser "Kamchatka" when that vessel signalled to the "Aurora" that she was threatened with attack: the "Aldebaran" no doubt came under the fire of one or two vessels, and when she disappeared, the "Aurora" and "Kamchatka," in their efforts to rejoin the fleet, approached it on a line which led to the belief that they had a hostile intent, and their position among the fishing fleet confirmed the Russian admiral in the belief that it was being used as a screen by the enemy. The evidence will also tend to explain the statement of some of the fishermen that they also saw a torpedo vessel. The framers of the British case are conscious of the difficulty which is always presented by the obligation to prove a negative, but they are sanguine that the circumstances above mentioned, which they are in a position to prove up to the hilt, will carry conviction to the minds of a majority of the Commission, whatever value they may be prepared to attach to the statement of the Russian officers.

January 12*th.*—At the Council to-day Parliament was prorogued to February 14th, then to meet for the despatch of business. The other principal item was the establishment of the Birmingham Bishopric, to emphasise the significance of which the Archbishop of Canterbury attended in his Convocation robes. Douglas and Edmund Wodehouse completed the quorum. The King sent me a message by Douglas that he thought it was running it rather fine to restrict the summons to the irreducible minimum of three,

and desired in future that four should always be summoned. I quite agreed, and am glad to have my hands strengthened by specific instructions on the point; indeed, I had tried on this occasion to secure the presence of another; but the second week of January is not a time when it is easy to find many people in London.

January 20th.—I have had a troublesome week, as my relations with the Board of Education have been somewhat strained, and Londonderry has not acquitted himself in his dual capacity with strict impartiality. The fact is, when exposed to the stormy impetuosity of Morant's desires, he has no alternative but to submit. The situation came about owing to the coincidence of the office keeper's retirement with an accentuation of Morant's difficulties in finding sufficient accommodation for the ever-growing staff, which are partly due to his impatience in carrying out changes of organisation prematurely and without sufficient forethought. The knowledge that the rooms vacated by the office keeper might be obtained, led him to discover urgency for the removal of the secondary branch from South Kensington, and, being aided and abetted thereto by the Office of Works, who saw the opportunity of cutting down their outlay on hired buildings, he had conceived predatory schemes on a large scale that would have involved my office in considerable inconvenience.

With the substitution of night watchmen for a resident office keeper I had no particular quarrel, though I felt bound to put in a *caveat* that I could not take any responsibility towards the King if communications from Buckingham Palace were in consequence allowed to miscarry; but when I heard from the Lord President enjoining me to further arrangements upon which I had never been consulted, and as to the extent of which I was uninformed, I must say I became angry. However, I confined myself to deploring with cold politeness the want of personal courtesy that had marked the conduct of the business. Morant, by his careless handling of facts, laid himself open to sharper castigation, which I am bound to say he took in a spirit that convinced me of his good-will, though I cannot acquit him of precipitation and want of judgment. In his own office he has assumed a *sic volo, sic jubeo* air, and seeks to introduce it into his relations with the heads of other departments, assuming their consent and almost anticipating their decision on points that involve careful consideration. His lack of experience in official life renders him quite insensible to the umbrage his methods excite, and he has not the faintest idea that officiousness is the most gratuitous form of impertinence. By dint of preserving a firm front to illegitimate exactions, while showing a readiness to meet him in a spirit of accommodation when I could yield without sacrificing important interests, the area of his pretensions

has been circumscribed, and I am now fairly immune from further attack.

In all this I deeply regret the loss of the Duke of Devonshire, to whom I never looked in vain for confidence and support.

January 24th.—Russian society is in the throes of dissolution. What was in the first instance an economic disturbance has been converted by the blindness of the authorities into a revolutionary upheaval. The pusillanimity of the Czar in shirking the responsibilities involved in his traditional Fatherhood of the people amounts to a moral abdication, and has given an enormous stimulus to the spirit of revolt. All the advices that reach this country point to the extent and depth of the exasperation caused by the events of Sunday, and the hostile feeling may soon attain a pitch which will exceed the military resources of the bureaucracy to hold in check. All the great towns are seething with discontent, and concerted attacks on the railways at certain points might paralyse the military activity of the Executive, even if it could rely upon the loyalty of the instrument in its hands. Massacre has given motive and momentum to the revolutionary societies which will go far to identify the wants of the people with their aims; the German Socialists are pouring money into their coffers and they have sympathisers for the work immediately at hand in all ranks of society. On the other side, there is no directing genius with the instinct of order and constitutional evolution, round which the forces of moderation could shape themselves for effective intervention. The channel to which it has been possible to confine public opinion in the past has become too small for the volume of impatience and indignation that permeates the nation, and it is everywhere bursting its bonds and threatening to submerge the landmarks of authority.

January 31st.—Though Ministers in public and private avow their belief that Parliament will run out its ordinary course, my information goes to show that those with the best means of judging look upon the position as most critical. The ranks of the party are steeped in lukewarmness and discontent, a large number of members are not seeking re-election, some of them from disgust; many of the Unionist Free Traders would welcome the early defeat of the Government, and there is no driving power behind the formal machinery of the party. Such, at any rate, is the state of things described to me by Sandars to-day, and attributable, though he did not go so far as to say it, to the difficulties inherent in the course of events. In these views I take it Sandars expresses the opinion of Douglas and Alec Hood, who see further into the actual condition of things than most of their colleagues.

The chief danger ahead arises from the dissatisfaction of Unionists with the Irish Administration, identified, as it is supposed

to have become, with the direction and influence of Sir A. Macdonnell. On this question Unionists could always justify themselves for voting against the Government by representing their action as in strict accord with the principles on which they were elected ; they would describe themselves, in fact, as more Unionist than the Ministry. There is much, it seems, that might be disclosed to give colour to the assumed sympathy of Sir A. Macdonnell with the Nationalists. Thus, apart from smaller matters of patronage or administrative interference, it is, I am assured, the case that the Dunraven scheme of qualified Home Rule was actually drawn up by Sir Antony in the Chief Secretary's Office, and, though he has been rebuked for this by George Wyndham, he still retains his confidence and Wyndham refuses to sacrifice him to Unionist distrust. His own parliamentary position, according to some, is not what it was ; the airy web of his brilliant rhetoric no longer dazzles the House of Commons, and the persistence with which he has defended Macdonnell is believed to justify discontent ; and this is aggravated by the fear of the permanent Under-Secretary being left as a legacy to the next Government, when his powers for mischief might be even less restrained. There is much to be said for Wyndham's determination to be loyal to him, as, but for his assistance, the principal achievement of the Chief Secretary's administration, the Irish Land Act, could not have been accomplished ; and he has recently advertised his intention to retain him by making definitive his removal from the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

In these difficult circumstances, with general apathy on one side and threats of active opposition on the other, the view of the Prime Minister is that for the present he must go on ; but, if on this or any other question the Government majority drops to fractional proportions, he will consider himself at liberty to consult his own dignity and the credit of the party by resignation or an appeal to the country.

Sandars does not believe the Government can outlast the Session, and even thinks the catastrophe may be very near ; but he admits the Prime Minister is more optimistic.

The appointment of great magnates like Bath and Linlithgow to vacant offices indicates the disinclination of the Prime Minister to create vested interests on the verge of a dissolution which it might be inconvenient to recognise on the party's return to office, whenever that may be.

February 3rd.—I dined last night with Haldane in his rooms at Whitehall Court. John Morley, Asquith, Arthur Acland, George Murray, Morant, and Mr. Emmott, M.P., were the other members of the party. Mr. Birrell came in before dinner was over, and Sir George Clarke joined us afterwards. With such company the conversation was interesting, though perhaps hardly as

brilliant as might have been expected. Our host seemed a little tired, and John Morley has aged and carried an air of some dejection. Asquith took the palm for bustling activity, and seemed in very good spirits. Both he and John Morley were nettled at Chamberlain's recent references to them, Morley grieving in a spirit of outraged friendship; but Asquith betrayed wounded pride in the laboured sarcasms levelled at Chamberlain's inclusion of him in the smaller fry of his critics.

Some amusing chaff took place over the reminiscences of some dinners that took place at the Savoy Hotel when Lord Rosebery's Administration was *in articulo mortis*. It appears Ministers at that date gave a very practical application of the aphorism "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and the consolation derived from these feasts assisted them to meet their fate with equanimity. Not long ago Haldane was walking on the Embankment with John Burns, who, pointing to the Savoy, denounced it as the scene of the worst extravagance and debauchery in London, assuming that it was not included in the category of Haldane's knowledge. Haldane replied, with admirable discretion, that he knew his London and was familiar with the outside of the building.

I had never met Mr. Birrell before. He is a witty talker, but the effect of his wit was rather lost by the laboured purpose he gave to it. He had just left the Presidential Chair at the meeting of the Free Churches to denounce the Education Act, and found himself sitting next the author of it, Morant. Certainly the want of faith in Nonconformist grievances was never better exemplified than in the contemptuous references made to them by the politicians who profit so largely by fostering them. The evening before Birrell had been the guest of the Eighty Club at a dinner over which George Russell presided, and, in his capacity as chairman, George appears to have poured as much vitriol into the sores of the company as he knew how. In touching upon the approaching assumption of office by the Liberal Party, he premised that in the course of a few months they would be at each other's throats in paroxysms of internecine strife, and then went on in a pleasant vein of criticism to take the guest of the evening as a sample of the confusion of thought and want of conviction that animated modern Liberalism. In his reply Birrell intimated that, while incapable of his friend's brilliance, he hoped that in his place he might have expressed himself with more discretion. An evening thus introduced by the protagonists must have been exhilarating to the neophytes of the party assembled to derive political instruction from their betters. It was curious how the name of George Russell elicited a chorus of uncomplimentary comment from his late associates.

After dinner I had some interesting conversation with Sir

G. Clarke on the state of the Army. He deplored the tone which Arnold-Forster's previous views and the habits of journalistic extravagance gave to all his utterances on the subject, producing the impression that never was the Army in such a deplorable state of hopeless confusion. In Sir George's opinion, on the contrary (and it must be remembered that he speaks with authority as the Secretary of the Committee of Defence and the Military Member of the Esher Triumvirate), never was the Army so strong for immediate action or officered by men who made it so completely their business to practise their profession and know its duties. The Reserve had recovered from the exhaustion due to the South African War, the regimental *cadres* are up to the requisite peace strength, and the training of men and officers had reached a pitch of excellence unknown before. He told me Ward's position had become a very difficult one: he did not enjoy the confidence of the soldiers, his popularity was on the wane, except with a few, and the relations in which he stood to the Army Council were very strained.

February 4th.—We had a Council to-day at less than twenty-four hours' notice, to effect the transfer of the Scottish Secretary's seals. I found yesterday that Sandars had arranged for it to take place, oblivious of the fact that it should be done in Council, and that an Order in Council was required to constitute the Secretary for Scotland Vice-President of the Scottish Committee of Council on Education. It also happened that the Treasury were very anxious to obtain immediate sanction to an order revoking the prohibition of San Domingo sugar, which, in view of the high price of that commodity, the Home Authorities had determined to admit without waiting for the sanction of the Brussels Conference. When the King was ready to receive Graham Murray in audience for the surrender of his seal,[1] he was not to be found. His Majesty grew very impatient, and would not listen to the efforts of the Lord-in-Waiting to explain his absence. It appeared he had gone to Knollys's room, which is some distance off, and was not prepared for the King's punctuality. After an awkward pause he was seen with Hopetoun in close pursuit, scurrying down the corridor, and arrived breathless at the feet of Majesty. Hopetoun looked ill and listless, and on my saying that presumably he did not expect a long term of office, replied, "No; that is the one consideration that led me to accept the appointment." He retains all that gentle and engaging manner that made him so popular as Lord Chamberlain.

February 10th.—Council for approval of the King's Speech: the Lord President, Clarendon, Kintore, and Douglas attended, and Sir J. Gorell Barnes, the new President of the Probate and Divorce

[1] On appointment as Lord Justice General of Scotland when he was created Lord Dunedin.

Division, was sworn. He gave me a better account of Sir F. Jeune than I had had from other quarters. An investiture followed, so we had all to appear in uniform. Londonderry came down without his keys, and, as he made a great point of locking the box containing the Speech in the King's presence, I lent him mine. When he came out he handed me the box duly locked, but a minute or two afterwards found the Speech crumpled up in his pocket, having ceremoniously turned the key on an empty box.

February 13th.—I had a dinner at Willis's as last year on the eve of the opening of Parliament, before the party at Lansdowne House. Lady Hylton, Lady Evelyn Hely Hutchinson, Redesdale, Louisa Longley, B. Freeman-Thomas, Stirling Maxwell, Herbert Stephen, and R. Walrond were my guests, and the evening was a very pleasant one. The party at Lansdowne House maintained its traditional supremacy over every other assemblage of the kind in modern London.

February 14th.—The opening of Parliament was dull and uneventful. Lord Rosebery's illness robbed the proceedings in the House of Lords of the semblance of interest, as Lord Lansdowne had no difficulty in disposing of the laborious platitudes through which, at great length and with wearisome iteration, Lord Spencer painfully floundered.

Before the sitting was over Lord Lansdowne announced that Onslow was the Government nominee for the part of Chairman of Committees, one that he will fill very well.

February 16th.—I had a talk with Sandars as to the appointment of a new Minister of Agriculture. The difficulties of filling the place are considerable, as no alternative is unattended with grave objections. The most obvious course would be to give the place to Salisbury, whereby the number of the Cabinet would be reduced and no new interest created; but many members of the party were already jealous of his early introduction into the Cabinet. He has not been long enough in possession of his property to evince any particular interest in the problems of agriculture, and the gift to a near relation of the Prime Minister of a place that might be bestowed on some loyal follower is sure to excite hostile criticism. Ailwyn Fellowes's services during the time he has represented the Department in the House of Commons entitle his claim to consideration; he is a thoroughly experienced and practical agriculturist, and his promotion would be popular in the House of Commons. On the other hand, there is no precedent for the transfer of a Junior Whip to Cabinet office, and it appears to be thought impossible to dissociate cabinet rank from the position: indeed, it was practically laid down in 1895 that the President of the Board of Agriculture should necessarily be in the Cabinet. A third alternative would be to confer the post

on W. Walrond; but he is in bad health, and lacking in the energy which his predecessors have displayed in the office.

It may be, therefore, that the vacancy will not be filled except in connection with some more extensive reconstruction, which the succession to Milner may bring about. There is an idea of asking Selborne to go to South Africa: he had a long experience in the Colonial Office under Mr. Chamberlain, and his administration of the Admiralty has satisfied the Prime Minister that he has both prudence and strength. It is not, therefore, unlikely that he may be pressed to relieve the Government of the difficulty by assuming the heavy responsibility that must devolve on the Lord High Commissioner at this moment of transition, particularly in view of his relations with the Home Government after a change of Ministry.

February 18*th.*—The debate in the House of Lords on the relations between Lord Dunraven and Sir A. Macdonnell has aroused more feeling than any other single occurrence within my memory. It will be remembered that, a few days ago, George Wyndham described Macdonnell's action as "indefensible": last evening Lord Lansdowne defended it in an elaborate argument, which was based on the altogether exceptional position which Sir A. Macdonnell occupied with the acquiescence of his Chief, a position which practically invested him with a kind of co-partnership in the Irish Administration and almost gave him authority to deal as he saw fit with those who appealed to him for counsel or assistance. Though it was not stated in as many words, it was substantially admitted that Lord Dunraven's scheme of devolution was drawn up in the Irish Office, and before the debate concluded Lord Lansdowne avowed that he had acted throughout with the privity and assent of the Lord-Lieutenant. It is not surprising that at the conclusion of his speech Lord Ashbourne whispered into his ear, "My boy, I have never heard so much fat put on the fire in a few minutes!" Nothing, however, seems to disturb the composure of the Prime Minister. In a few words I had with him at the Court he responded to my congratulations on his majority in the House of Commons with the most radiant hopefulness as to the position of the Ministry for the remainder of the Session. Owing to the immense size of the *entrée*, there was a very dreary wait for less fortunate persons; but, once we were moved, the rest of the evening was spent pleasantly enough.

February 21*st.*—The net result of the debate in the House of Commons on the Macdonnell incident has been very damaging. It is not so much the transaction itself, as the way that it has been explained and defended, that causes most injury. The judgment that must be passed on Sir A. Macdonnell's conduct resolves itself largely into a question of the degree with which

he was invested with extraordinary discretion, and George Wyndham's description of him as a colleague rather than a subordinate would seem to have justified him in determining for himself how far the general aim of his negotiations with Lord Dunraven were consistent with his view of ministerial policy. Neither George Wyndham nor the Prime Minister was successful in the effort to convince the House that there were no lacunæ in their statement of the case. The Prime Minister, indeed, affirmed that the usual conditions under which Civil Servants acted were binding on Sir A. Macdonnell, and, though this was satisfactory so far as it touched the responsibility of the Head of the Government, yet it brought into stronger relief the picture of divided counsels and uncertain views. Lord Robertson, who was in the House during the evening, gave a vivid account of the demoralisation that affected the supporters of the Government, and it is the progress of the disintegration flowing therefrom that causes the Whips their greatest anxiety. The majority was good enough for the immediate purpose, but, to those who know the lukewarmness that has to be overcome, the discontent that has to be appeased, the zeal that has to be stimulated before such a majority, or anything like it, can be brought into the lobbies, the prospect is cruelly disheartening. To many, and among them some of the warmest friends of the Government, it appears that in the interests of themselves, of the party, and of the country, no time should be lost in submitting a case to the arbitrament of the constituencies.

February 25th.—We have had to ask for a Council before March 1st in order to provide for the transfer of all the powers still exercised by the Home Office under the Housing of the Working Classes Act to the Local Government Board. As the arrangements for the resignation of the Bishop of Gloucester are complete, an order will also be presented to the King declaring the see vacant. I thought this a good opportunity of asking the Archbishop of Canterbury to attend, as it appeared to fall within the scope of the King's intention. At any rate, the Archbishop was delighted, and in writing to me said, " I appreciate His Majesty's considerateness in directing that I should be present on these ecclesiastical occasions. I am sure this is valued by churchmen generally as a recognition of the Church's status in the State." There is some humour in a constructive interpretation of the King's wishes which produced so emphatic a testimonial of its fitness from the successor of St. Augustine.

The preparations for the Council were not without another amusing incident in which the King took a different view from the highest legal authority on a point of law. The Foreign Office having informed me of the betrothal of the Duke of Coburg, I asked Knollys whether it was the King's wish that the consent

required under the provisions of the Royal Marriages Act, 1772, should be declared at the Council. He replied that the King had great doubts whether the Act applied to a reigning Sovereign, and suggested I should take further advice. There was no question whatever that, according to the terms of the statute, the consent was necessary, as the only exceptions made were in favour of the issue of princesses who had married into foreign families, and there was a precedent of the year 1842, whereby the late Queen had declared her assent to the marriage of the Prince Royal of Hanover, who, as the heir apparent of a reigning Sovereign, certainly came within the King's query. There was also a decision of the House of Lords on the claim of a son of the Duke of Sussex to his father's titles, which, so far as it went, made for a rigid interpretation of the statute. Armed with these points, I went yesterday to see the Chancellor during the luncheon interval of the sittings of the Court of Appeal, and gave him the whole story. He was delightfully humorous upon the sweeping provisions of the statute and the menaces of "præmunire" against anyone who should, in the absence of the King's consent, aid and abet such marriages, and he had not the least doubt that, if the Duke of Coburg were to preserve his contingent rights, the King's consent was necessary; nor, in his opinion, should the King wait for his application, but should give his consent forthwith and permit it to be accompanied by any explanation he thought fit. I at once submitted the Lord Chancellor's opinion to Knollys and asked for the King's decision. This morning I heard that, in the King's opinion, the question should at any rate be postponed to a later Council, for His Majesty was not at all convinced by the Lord Chancellor's argument. I supposed this had closed the discussion for the moment, but at 7 p.m. I got another letter from Knollys to the effect that the King had been talking the matter over, and thought that, if it was not too late, the question of the consent to the Duke of Coburg's marriage had after all better be brought forward at the Council on Monday. His Majesty then went on to give minute instructions as to the form in which the declaration should be prepared.

I had luncheon with Herbert Maxwell, who told me that he had never given a vote for the Government with such scruples and hesitation as on the debate in connection with the Macdonnell incident. He was indignant at the suggestion in some quarters that Chamberlain was anxious for a dissolution at all costs, and told me he had written to say that his support was only given on the understanding that he was in all respects loyal to Mr. Balfour's leadership.

February 26th.—On going into the Westminster Cathedral this morning, I was followed by the Duke of Norfolk, who hailed me with something to say on business, "if you do not mind

talking shop in church," as he expressed it. As it was his church rather than mine, I had no objection to make, and gave him all the information I could.

The judgment of the Paris Tribunal on the North Sea incident, with the heads of which I have been familiar for a day or two, is announced to-day. It does substantial justice, the decision being such as judges who wish to stand well with both sides may very properly be a party to. The point over which we have to congratulate ourselves is, that the Court, or at any rate a majority of it, has given its endorsement to the British case, and, though some persons may be disappointed that it does not go further towards having the courage of its opinions, there is enough in the findings, read between the lines, to justify satisfaction with Lord Lansdowne's prudence and sagacity in the conduct of an extremely difficult situation. It is to be hoped that the English newspapers that have anticipated the decision and utilised their ignorance to attack the Court, and the policy that created it, will now be ashamed of themselves.

February 27th.—This morning brought the news that Lord Morley had at last succumbed to the burdensome and mysterious malady with which he has so long been afflicted, and that Martin Gosselin had most unexpectedly expired about the same time at Busaco. In Lord Morley's long and honourable public career he had won everybody's good opinion by his integrity, ability, and agreeable manners. For Martin Gosselin, who was on the threshold of reaching the summit of a diplomatist's ambition by his early translation to Vienna, it is difficult for me to speak without stronger emotion. Ever since his transfer to the Foreign Office to take up the part of Assistant Secretary, I had had many opportunities of seeing him, and there were few more attractive personalities. With all the gifts that shine in personal intercourse, he impressed all who knew him by his courtesy, fairness, judgment, and tact. An ideal representative of his country at a foreign Court, his position at Lisbon had been hardly of importance sufficient to bring out his strongest qualities, and his friends looked for his promotion to an ampler sphere for a vindication of the hopes they had formed for him. It was not, however, to be, and he died of internal hæmorrhage on a spot already consecrated by British history. He will rest at Lisbon, but he will live long in the affectionate memory of many.

At the Council to-day the King announced his consent to the Duke of Coburg's marriage in language of uncompromising emphasis : so loud, indeed, was his voice that I could only suppose he wished to penetrate Fred Milner's deafness. The Archbishop of Canterbury had an audience afterwards, which amply repaid him for the trouble of attending.

March 3rd—Yesterday evening showed an alarming declen-

sion in the Government majorities. The disintegrating effects of the last fortnight's debates began to tell decisively on the cohesion of the Ministerialists; in five successive divisions the majority never rose above 31, and was twice as low as 24. Nor, as I hear, was this the worst feature of the situation: the spirit displayed in the lobbies among those who might have voted, and refused to do so, was most ominous. Though there were five hundred members in the House during the afternoon, it was found impossible to keep a sufficient number to render a division safe before the dinner interval. The character of the defection made it all the more remarkable. Old-fashioned Tories, who, in the whole course of their parliamentary lives, had never entertained the thought of voting against their party, now left the House swearing that nothing would induce them to stay and vote. They swept past the Whips at the doors, ignoring their presence or rudely repelling their efforts to detain them, till the Whips themselves deserted their posts in despair, and defeat was only averted by putting up stalwarts to talk against time. A spirit of aggressive violence towards the Ministerial bench displayed itself in the House. Tommy Bowles, fresh from his correspondence with Stanley and Ailwyn Fellowes, and the easy triumph they had given him, told Bromley-Davenport he got all his information from under the gallery, and Winston Churchill surpassed himself in offence. It is true he made one legitimate score that amused the House hugely: the only occupants of the Treasury bench happened to be Arnold-Forster and, at a great interval, St. John Brodrick. Failing to get a reply to some query from the first-named, he turned to the other, and invited him with pointed satire to come to the assistance of his hardly pressed and much-loved colleague. The question is now being asked whether the Government can possibly hold out to the Budget; Chamberlain's impatience at the situation is growing visibly, and when it becomes known that the Prime Minister has had to go outside the ranks of active politicians to find a successor to Selborne the public will realise how exhausted are his ordinary resources. Not that the choice he has made in offering the place to Cawdor is other than an admirable one, but it is a curious comment on the refusal a year and a half ago to make him a Privy Councillor at the suggestion of the Duke of Devonshire.

March 6th.—I saw Cawdor this afternoon and congratulated him on his appointment to the Admiralty. He was delightfully frank in describing the surprise it had been to him: he had been at the office all the afternoon with Selborne, and had even had to ask his way to the building, so ignorant was he of its whereabouts. He denied that he had been harbouring any intention of resigning the Chairmanship of the G.W.R., as he was not in the least tired of the work. The resignation of George Wyndham was

announced in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour expressing the regret with which he had at last yielded to his appeals for relief. In some degree he is a sacrifice to Unionist clamour, and to that extent the Prime Minister was right in not being too ready to accept his withdrawal. Deeper reasons, however, are at work, and George Wyndham rightly feels that all efforts towards a policy of conciliation are at this juncture out of place, and that the attempt to promote them has been premature and in some of its developments ill-judged. Other resignations will probably follow, in order to ensure the political co-operation of the Ulster Unionists at a crisis when every vote is of importance. The new Irish Secretary will confine himself to the narrowest construction of his official duties for the short time he is permitted to discharge them. Walter Long is mentioned for the place, which has suggested the remark that the Government, having failed in sending Don Quixote to Ireland, now propose to select a less maginative figure for the mission.

March 7th.—The Government are in grave straits over the way to meet Winston Churchill's motion to-morrow condemning preferential tariffs based on the taxation of food. The Speaker and Ilbert between them are imposing obstacles to the alternatives which offer Ministers the best chance of evading a direct issue, and Sandars, whom I saw this morning, is very doubtful about the result. Alec Hood was with him for part of the time, and wore a very harassed air, though he said it was his business to put the Opposition in a minority, and he should do so. The Free Food Conservatives are in complete accord with the terms of the motion, and, if they were to vote for it *en bloc*, on a party issue the Government must be beaten. One desperate expedient suggested is to allow members to go as they please and not treat it as a serious challenge; but this would be a grave confession of weakness, tantamount to the abdication by the Prime Minister of his functions in guiding the House on a question which is largely under its present aspect his own creation; and, further, might result in the permanent alienation of the large number of Chamberlainites. So much depends upon the Speaker's attitude towards amendments and the possibility of his permitting the "previous question" to be submitted, that nothing can be predicted with any precision.

March 9th.—The Government majority, which nobody expected to exceed 20, reached 42, and for the moment Ministerialists are enjoying their triumph. The personality of Winston Churchill had something to do with the result, but the reluctance of Free-trade members of the party to vote against their leaders is the real explanation. Quiet abstention becomes very difficult when direct issues touching the existence of the Government are raised, and the old traditions of allegiance assert themselves

with unlooked-for force. The Free Fooders did as well as they had hoped, so far as the actual number that went into the "No" lobby was concerned; but the rallying power left still to the Government had been under-estimated. It resolves itself into a question of staying power, and Ministers' chances of surviving the Session will be determined by whichever side can keep its mobilised units for a longer time in the field.

A discussion in the House of Lords this afternoon on the subject of Cawdor's attendance at Cabinet Councils illustrates the go-as-you-please character of the Administration. Lord Spencer very properly called attention to the absence of established practice in summoning a person, who was not a member of the Privy Council, to the meetings of the Cabinet, which, so far as it had any status known to the Constitution, was a Committee of the Privy Council. Lord Lansdowne had to make the best of the inadequate defence that experts, legal and military, were constantly called when their advice was wanted; but of course, in Cawdor's case, the point was that he had attended as a Cabinet Minister by the usual form of summons addressed to the King's servants, which could not be denied, though he held no Cabinet office and was not a member of the Privy Council. Lord Ripon, instead of pressing this point, foolishly relied on the publication of the official list of those who had been present, and gave the Lord Chancellor the opportunity, with splendid audacity, of declaring that such lists had no authority and frequently included the names of persons who were absent and omitted those of others who were present. The attitude of Ministers only emphasised indifference to customary forms. If the attack on the House of Lords had been pushed with more force and directed with more knowledge, it would have been very difficult to meet; but the Lord Chancellor is quite justified in exhibiting a sovereign contempt for the capacity of the front opposition bench, and treating their protests with light-hearted irrelevance.

March 11*th*.—I hear from a well-informed source there is no doubt that George Wyndham was privy to Sir A. Macdonnell's negotiations with Lord Dunraven; in confirmation of which I was shown a letter written by Dunraven on the paper of the Chief Secretary's Office, some weeks after the scheme had been launched, in happy security that all was going well. My informant considers it altogether in keeping with George Wyndham's attitude throughout his occupancy of the office. He described him as the greatest opportunist he ever knew, with a speculative readiness for any enterprise in the direction of conciliation, but unprepared in the last resort to face an outburst of Unionist discontent. His policy he believed sound, for it was to find some middle term which would render Irish government no longer the shuttlecock of extreme factions; but Wyndham had no settled

plan of operations by which this might be effected, and had merely utilised the extraordinary suppleness and dexterity of his mind to try experiments in this and that direction, and was ready to substitute one for another as each in turn failed. There is, however, an aspect of opportunism which has the sign of the highest statesmanship, as the career of Richelieu bears witness, and in the difficulties which beset him the Chief Secretary may well have sought any practicable outlet for his hopes and aspirations.

It is not unlikely, so it is said, that the complete pacification of the Irish Unionists may, if time serves, be effected by sending Macdonnell to the Foreign Office on Sanderson's retirement. I am told the project has been mooted, and Ministers may seize the way of escape thus held out; but the interests of the Foreign Office seem in danger of being forgotten, and I am inclined to think such an appointment would excite a good deal not only of hostile but well-founded criticism. India, though a great school of administration, is hardly a training-ground for European diplomacy.

Lionel Earle let his flat the other day to the Poet Laureate, and has a good story to tell of a correspondence that passed between them. Before he came in Austin said there was one request he wished to make, viz. that Earle would be careful to leave no dogs behind. Earle replied that he might make his mind quite easy on this point, and went on to say that he had a small request to make in return: that when Austin went away he would be careful not to leave any poems behind!

March 14*th*.—We had a Council to-day at a few hours' notice to pass the orders appointing the new Presidents of the Boards of Trade, Local Government, and Agriculture, and to swear in Cawdor and Ailwyn Fellowes. I had luncheon with Cawdor before the Council in order to impress the procedure upon him at the last moment, and took occasion to warn him to be careful in retiring, after kissing the King's hand, not to collide with Ailwyn Fellowes, who would be coming up in his rear. As ill-luck would have it, the King held the Council in the small room upstairs, where lack of space impedes circumspect movement, and the two collided with great force.

March 18*th*.—At the Sheriffs' dinner last night Ministers appeared very cheerful and quite prepared to jest about their coming doom, which at any rate they all anticipated would occur within the next twelve months. The only exception to the prevailing hilarity was Lord Lansdowne, who looked tired and preoccupied. The Chancellor was much amused to hear that the King thought nothing of his law in connection with the Royal Marriages Act, though twenty-four hours' reflection had brought him to follow his advice The proceedings during the settlement

of the Roll were attended with some hilarity, as a lady had written a scandalous and abusive letter to the Lord President to expose the unfitness of her husband's nephew on the score of irregularities in his marital relations. The story is long and unedifying, but the fine frenzy with which the lady covered what was obviously personal spite with zeal for the reputation of the King's officers gave spirit to her intervention.

While I was with Sandars he took the opportunity of unveiling the political situation with even more than his customary openness. Referring to the Cabinet Ministers I had met the night before, he said that very few of them knew how acute the situation had become. In fact, the relations between the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain have almost reached breaking point. Some indications of it have been given to the world, or at least that portion of it who weigh what they read, in Mr. Chamberlain's recent declaration touching the imminence of a General Election, and in the attitude of undisguised indifference, not to say contempt, which the Tariff Reform League have recently assumed towards "Retaliation." The yoke of Chamberlainism has at last wrung the withers of the Prime Minister, and in Sandars's expressive phrase it will soon be a question with him "whether it is worth while to strain the party machine any longer in order to maintain the present artificial equilibrium." Chamberlain's temper and disposition have at last got the better of him, and the dexterity with which the Prime Minister has concealed the deep differences that exist between them is exhausted, having perhaps performed its task and secured that after the General Election the centre of gravity of the Conservative Party will not rest with fiscal heterodoxy. Sandars enlarged on the difficulty a man of Chamberlain's temperament had in abstaining from the direction of any movement, and the tendency, which sooner or later dominated him, to force the hand of those who were in part association with him. Up till now Mr. Balfour has had less trouble from the Tariff Reformers than from the Free Trade section of the party, partly, no doubt, as Sandars said, from motives of self-interest. With the one exception of the ultimatum to the Government over the Wharton amendment, they have been content to support Mr. Balfour; but, unless they were prepared to precipitate an appeal to the country, they had no alternative. This, it appears, it is now Mr. Chamberlain's intention to do, and the votes of some fifteen to twenty stalwarts which he can command, and perhaps more, place it in his power to act whenever he thinks the moment is ripe. There is an idea that parental pride may lead him to give Austen Chamberlain the chance of introducing a budget of relief, but after April 10th the "crash" might come at any minute. Austen himself has no illusions upon the spirit that is now animating his father, and does not, I

understand, propose to mortgage his political future by standing in with him. The Prime Minister believes that, with whatever misunderstanding and suspicion his contemporaries may view his proceedings during the last eighteen months, the historian will do him the justice of admitting that by his patience and tact he has saved the Unionist Party from the permanent taint of Protection, and, feeling that this has been achieved, he may be advised to anticipate the blow Mr. Chamberlain is meditating. He is very sore at the tortuousness that has dominated the other's policy: indeed, he is again being reminded of what all those who have co-operated with Mr. Chamberlain have found out sooner or later, that he has no conception of obligation in any fine sense of the phrase, and that his masterfulness and lack of restraint are sure to prejudice, if not to ruin, any cause in which he is engaged. As soon as the Prime Minister diverges formally from Chamberlain, his tacit understanding with Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who dislikes the other as one who has tainted the Tory party with demagogue intrigues and fiscal heresy, will come into activity, and the breach be healed with all except the most violent asserters of Free-trade doctrine in its extreme form. It will be seen, from this summary of the situation, with what immense disadvantages the Unionist Party will enter upon the General Election, but it will be manifest that the responsibility of its ruin will rest with Mr. Chamberlain, and, so far as the event shows that the disaster has been frustrated, the honour and credit of the achievement will rest with Mr. Balfour.

March 20th.—At the Council this morning, which was attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was settled not to bring the order forming the diocese of Southwark into operation before May 1st. The King pricked the Sheriffs and interlarded the ceremony with a running fire of genial comment upon the persons whose names he knew. He was looking pulled down after his cold, but appeared in very good spirits.

March 22nd.—The Cabinet yesterday marked a stage in the crisis, which gave another point to the Prime Minister in his struggle with Chamberlain. It had been a very grave question whether his determination to treat Mr. Ainsworth's motion condemnatory of Mr. Chamberlain's tariff ideas as one which the Government would decline to have anything to do with, would be supported by a unanimous Cabinet or have the acquiescence of Chamberlain. Had there been any secessions, Mr. Balfour had resolved to go. In the result all his colleagues rallied to him.

March 25th.—I saw Sandars in order to ascertain whether, the situation being apparently easier, it might be assumed that the King would not be called upon before Easter to hold a Council for a dissolution. He was jubilant over the success of the Prime Minister's action and the progress it marked in the gradual isola-

tion of Chamberlain. Not that he expected him for long to acquiesce, but every point in the process scored by Mr. Balfour was calculated to reduce the number of those who would in the last resort obey Chamberlain to the length of voting against Ministers, and therefore tended to strengthen the Cabinet in their policy of freeing the party from the Protectionist taint. At the same time, it is certain that Chamberlain will not surrender his hold on it without a severe struggle, and the term of the Ministry's existence will synchronise with the moment chosen to put forth what power he has in reserve. As far as the immediate future was concerned, Sandars agreed that the position was much improved, the Prime Minister's success with the Cabinet having been more complete than he had reason to anticipate a week ago, and, so far as he could foresee, the King was free to leave the country for some weeks if his doctors wished him to do so.

The social week included a dinner of our own on Tuesday, at which the Longfords, Lady Tweeddale, Hugh Morrison and Lady Mary, Freeman-Thomas, Lady Evelyn Hutchinson, the W. Bridgemans, and Lionel Earle assisted. Freeman-Thomas showed unshaken attachment to Lord Rosebery. He is as honest a politician as is to be found in the ranks of either party, and I can understand Lord Rosebery's appeal to his imagination.

On Wednesday we dined with Lady Delamere, and met Carl Joubert, the author of some books on Russia calculated to make the flesh creep, and his conversation is directed to the same end. He pledged himself to the destruction of the whole Romanoff dynasty in three months by the agency of a Revolutionary Committee of twelve, who only wanted £43,000,000 to transform Russian society.

Lady Hayter's party on Friday was packed with the aspirants to office in the Liberal camp.

March 27th.—I went down to the House of Lords to tender the oath of office to Cawdor, who has at last emerged from the chrysalis state, and afterwards visited the House of Commons. There was an air of listlessness about the place that gave force to the rumours of dissolution.

Lady Hylton's concert attracted most of her friends.

March 28th.—I saw Haldane this morning on the Sheffield University Charter, upon which Lord Rosebery has some scruples. He agreed with me on the form of our proposals, which, however lacking in ideal symmetry, were the best the circumstances of the case permitted, and promised to speak to Lord Rosebery on the subject. Afterwards we got on the condition of this moribund Ministry. He had met the King last night at the Duke of Fife's dinner, who told him that any day might be fatal to it, and spoke with some asperity on the recent utterances of opposition speakers in connection with South Africa, which he described as unpa-

triotic. It is not a little singular that a letter Haldane recently had from Chamberlain gives emphatic confirmation to the King's view of the imminence of a political crisis. The two have not seen much of each other of late—indeed their relations had become very cool; but Haldane had sent him the other day his new scheme for the subvention of University Colleges, and this led to a letter from Chamberlain in which he said that "the best of all possible Governments" was coming to an end, a catastrophe which he viewed with utter unconcern, including any effect it might have on the Prime Minister's influence and popularity, and he begged Haldane, in view of his keen interest in educational policy, to dine with him and expound his ideas. This Haldane did, and spent some hours with him. They did not touch directly on fiscal policy, but they entered pretty fully into the political conditions that might prevail in the near future, and alluded to the possibility of their both being free to give their energies to the same cause. Haldane, with infinite tact, professed himself ready to accept the other as his leader.

March 31*st.*—A characteristic instance of the Lord Chancellor's humour occurred yesterday. An appeal of the Duke of Northumberland on some point touching estate duty was down for hearing in the House of Lords, whereupon Lord James, though of course not in as many words, intimated that his familiarity with Dukes would render it difficult for him to preserve an impartial mind. The Chancellor, who was quite equal to the occasion, sent him to the Judicial Committee to hear an Indian appeal, which James hates, as he knows nothing of Indian law and is reduced to a humiliating silence, and brought Davey to the House of Lords, who, knowing the circumstances, took it as an intimation that he was not familiar with Dukes, which was wounding to his vanity. The Lord Chancellor scored by exchanging a weak lawyer for a strong one, and flouted two colleagues neither of whom he is particularly fond of.

April 3*rd.*—I went this morning to see the Duke of Devonshire, who returned from Egypt last night. He was looking particularly well and received me very cordially. I had to arrange with him for a meeting of the Committee of Council on the Sheffield University Charter, which he was good enough to appoint for Saturday next. I told him the difficulty I anticipated from Lord Rosebery and the importance therefore of securing the attendance of both Lord Balfour and Lord James, who were ready to support the clauses I had drawn, which were also approved by the Board of Education and Haldane. George Hylton had asked me, if possible, to secure the Duke's interest in support of a Bill he had introduced to amend the Public Health Acts on one or two points connected with Building Cottages in rural districts. I showed the Duke the Bill and got him to say he would be in the House, if it was

put down for the 14th, and I think he will speak on its behalf.

He had enjoyed his two months in Egypt greatly, but spoke with some concern of the health of the Duchess, who is suffering from an acute and chronic pain in the side, said to be connected with the pleura, but obviously one which gives the doctors some disquiet, and must be very troublesome to the patient, though it has not debarred her from seeking the diversions of Monte Carlo.

April 8th.—The Committee of Council met at Devonshire House this morning at 11, to suit Lord Rosebery's convenience. I had seen the principal representatives of Sheffield during the week, and Lord Rosebery was satisfied with the assurance that they would accept the clauses, to which he had objected, subject to the conditions of a time limit, and on that basis everything was settled harmoniously: Lord Rosebery getting up with the remark that, if all Committees ended so satisfactorily, the world would be a pleasanter place. He was full of chaff for the benefit of the Duke, and doubted whether he should have found him up at such an early hour: he had himself to attend a meeting at the British Museum at 12. Lords Balfour and James stayed behind to confer with the Duke on the free-trade demonstrations that were to be made in and out of Parliament next week; the Duke speaks at a banquet the first day and Lord Balfour has a motion in the House of Lords the second: unlike the Government, they attach some importance to saying the same thing.

We dined with the Enfields last night, and met the Monsons and Lady Colebrooke. It is striking what an enthusiasm Lord Rosebery excited in the mind of the last-named: it was hardly possible to hazard the mildest dissent without throwing her into a fever of revolt; but she could say nothing that explained a line of action that had confined his immense talents to so poor a harvest.

April 14th.—Chamberlain has passed under the Caudine Forks: instead of turning out "the best of all possible Governments" whose early doom he was prophesying a few weeks ago, he has in substance capitulated to the dexterous management of the Prime Minister, and has accepted a formula that emasculates Tariff Reform for all present purposes. The natural annoyance excited by finding himself in a situation that admitted of but one alternative has betrayed itself in a splenetic attack upon the Duke of Devonshire, whom he assails with a vehemence and inaccuracy all his own. In seeking to convict the Duke of contradictory lines of conduct which he went near to representing as treachery, he depicts his own action as a model of candour and sincerity, going so far as to say that when he made his famous speech at Birmingham in May 1903, his colleagues had full knowledge of what he was going to say, implying that this was the time

for the Duke to have recorded an emphatic protest. The best comment on this astounding misrepresentation of fact is to be found in the letter of the Prime Minister to the Duke at the time. In that letter, which I have seen, Mr. Balfour told the Duke that he had Mr. Chamberlain's assurance when he went to Birmingham that he would not go beyond the language which he (Mr. Balfour) was to hold in addressing the deputation on the Corn Tax, and "this," he went on to say, "is how he has done it." Chamberlain, of course, can rely on the Duke's reluctance to rake up the ashes of an old controversy, and his unwillingness, which is particularly strong at the present juncture, to aggravate the disunion of the Unionist Party. The Duke will probably not think it worth while to correct him, but the historian will realise the capital importance of what I narrate when he comes to estimate the relative responsibility of the two statesmen for the events that ultimately led to the crisis of September.

April 15th.—Last night the Hyltons dined with me at the banquet of the Stage Society in the long room of the Café Monico. The speeches were on the whole good, though much too long. Lytton as chairman was disappointing. Mr. Justice Darling made an elaborate prelude to wit: the honours of the evening rested with Bernard Shaw and Walkley, the dramatic critic of "The Times." By a curious printer's error, Bernard Shaw was announced to return thanks for the King! Mrs. Pember Reeves, in proposing the toast, to which Walkley responded, produced a good impression by her brevity and studious felicity of phrase. Bernard Shaw, after some scornful gibes at the theatre-going public, declared the object of the Society to be the production of plays of such an unheard-of character that only a handful of people would desire to see them and warned the Society against becoming too large. The speeches were not over at 11.30.

April 28th.—I returned to London to-day after ten days in Belgium. Five nights were spent at Bruges in an old house, said to have been once the seat of a Dominican Priory, in which the Edmund Butlers have taken up their abode. It is nearly four-and-twenty years since I was last in the town, which has undergone very little alteration. On this occasion I had the advantage of exploring it in the company of Cecily Butler, whose knowledge of the place and sympathy with the past in all its manifestations made her a most agreeable associate in such an enterprise, apart from the charm that her air and conversation throw over everything she touches. Few towns of its antiquity have retained so many of its old buildings, not a few of them associated with the residence of men famous in history. The belfry which surmounts the old municipal building is a fabric of astonishing lightness and seems almost to spring into the air as you look at it. Erected for the most part within the fourteenth century, it

received an addition some eighty years later in the shape of an octagonal lantern which gives it an outstanding lift and elevation. The spire at Notre Dame is also a marvel of elegance and nobility: in this church sleep the bodies of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy. With many private virtues, and some claim to the temperament of genius, Charles's restless ambition leaves to the epigraphist nothing but a verdict of failure, and the splendid tomb of his daughter has a singular efficacy to point the inevitable moral. Few tombs are so calculated to excite emotion. Born of the most splendid lineage in Europe, the quarterings of which are blazoned on the sides of the sarcophagus, and the inheritor of its fairest provinces, she died at twenty-five, when the heterogeneous collection of principalities and duchies which the house of Burgundy had sought to build up into a powerful middle kingdom stretching from Friesland to Provence passed to the son of Maximilian and became the vulnerable appanage of a distant and alien line. The young face peering out from its richly engraved draperies looks so resigned and tranquil that we may almost infer the sculptor thought her happily taken away from the evil to come; at any rate, there she reposes in her eternal calm, and the unquiet story of her house seems little more than a dream in the presence of centuries of such serenity.

Some very attractive views are to be found from the ramparts of Bruges, broken at intervals by mediæval gates in an excellent state of preservation.

On Saturday we went to Damme, the port of Bruges, and once the home of a large population which has now shrunk to a few hundreds. There is a fine church and an interesting Hôtel de Ville, but the charm of the expedition was in the voyage along the almost deserted canal in the mellow light of the afternoon.

Monday and Thursday we gave to Antwerp, Malines, and Brussels. In the galleries and churches alike the spirit is dominated by the work of Rubens, and no one can form an opinion of the great master's works until, with a mass of lesser achievement, he has studied and pondered over the half-dozen masterpieces, prodigious in the *envergure* of conception and splendour of technique, which are to be seen distributed among those towns. Antwerp has four of them: the "Mise en Croix" and "Descente de Croix" in the Cathedral, the "Communion of St. Francis" in the Museum, and the "St. George" above the tomb of the painter in the Church of St. Jacques. Malines has the "Adoration des Mages," the altar-piece in the Church of St. Jean; and the sixth, "Montée au Calvaire," is in the Museum at Brussels. I shall attempt no description of them, but would refer anyone who reads these lines to Fromentin's "Maîtres d'Autrefois," a book which is indispensable to those who seek to make themselves acquainted with the art of Flanders or Holland.

The Cathedral at Brussels produced on me a stronger impression than any Gothic church with which I am familiar. There is an indefinable harmony between the severity of the design and the austere monochrome of the walls: no screen or heavy division between the sanctuary and the ambulatory prevents the eye penetrating depths of arcaded stone and darkened aisle, across which a faint light struggles through some of the finest painted glass in Europe. The windows in the chapel to the north of the ambulatory are magnificent, and have a special interest from having been placed there by Charles V and the three Kings who married his sisters: Francis I, John III of Portugal, and Lewis II of Hungary, with whom their wives are associated and represented in the windows.

Our last morning at Brussels was devoted to the Field of Waterloo, and I must admit to an access of no ordinary feeling on the survey of that memorable spot. Fortunately little has been done to disturb its features, and the restricted area on which the battle was fought makes it easy to decipher the whole plan from the summit of the mound now surmounted by the Belgian Lion. Every point in the landscape and every phase in the struggle are there clear to the eye, and it wants very little imagination to see the field swarming with combatants and to hear the din of battle in the air. We got away as quickly as we could from the crowd of sightseers and walked across the open to Hougoumont, about a mile off. Here the traces of the battle concentrate and one feels in the presence of the most personal and vital interest of the day. A plantation to the south has disappeared, but the buildings and enclosures are otherwise pretty much as they were left on the evening of June 18th, 1815, the loopholing of the walls being eloquent of the grim struggle of which the Château was the theatre. We were taken over the ground by an old Flamande of most direct and emphatic speech, who knew every inch of it and its associations. At one point in the wall I knelt down to train my umbrella through a loophole, upon which she cried, "Êtes-vous soldat?" and on my replying "Non, moi pékin," she broke into the most uproarious laughter. "You were not born yesterday; you were born the day before yesterday." One could not fail to be struck by the extraordinary oversight of the French in not bringing artillery to bear on the defences of the post; in two hours, with their immense superiority of guns, the wall and buildings might have been demolished, whereas Reille's incompetence in directing infantry attacks upon the position kept 12,000 French troops occupied the whole day in an affair in which no more than 1,200 of the enemy were engaged, and that when time was everything; and what makes it more astonishing is the fact that this whole episode in the fight was within a few hundred yards of Napoleon's position at La Belle

Alliance, and within easy view of the great Captain himself. Indeed, the smallness of the ground over which his troops manœuvred makes it impossible to acquit Napoleon of ultimate responsibility for the tactical errors of his subordinates.

May 10th.—Council at Buckingham Palace; Londonderry, Pembroke, Kintore, Savile Crossley, and Sir H. Fletcher attended. The last-named was immensely flattered at being summoned, and thanked me effusively. The King did not look to me as bronzed as he should be after days at sea under a southern sun, but there was nothing in his manner or appearance to indicate that he was not well. I went to Christie's afterwards to see a Troyon that is to be sold on Saturday: a magnificent picture entitled "A Forest Glade." The breadth and dignity of the treatment left nothing to be desired, and the sentiment of the whole was charged with that austere insight into the moral *arcana* of nature which is the distinguishing feature of the great French *paysagistes*.

May 11th.—I went to the House of Lords in order to hear Hylton expound his Bill for dealing with unsuitable Building By-laws in rural districts. It was a very good speech, with plenty of matter and some light and shade, but ten minutes too long.

May 29th.—Council at Buckingham Palace, at which Sir A. Nicolson and Sir E. Goschen were sworn. I had not seen the last-named since we met at Balmoral nearly seven years ago, when he was first accredited to Belgrade. Pembroke, Walrond, and Charles Wortley attended, the last-named in order to mark the occasion when the draft charter incorporating a University in Sheffield was approved, thus bringing to an end a series of very responsible negotiations, since the question of reconstituting the university system in the North of England was first raised by the petition of Liverpool in the summer of 1902. Few Committees of the Privy Council have been concerned with so large a task as bringing four Universities into being and prescribing all the conditions under which they should work in concert—a step which will have the most important consequences upon the development of university organisation.

June 1st.—The destruction of the Russian Fleet gives a new direction to the dynamics of power. The sagacity of Lord Lansdowne in associating this country with the fortunes of the island Empire of the East has been triumphantly vindicated. In a truer sense than that in which the words were used by Canning, he may be said to have called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. Russia may be long before she submits to the logic of events or succumbs under the slow processes of exhaustion, but the inevitable doom is written across her ill-starred enterprise of Manchurian expansion, and, if she persists in misreading the signs of the times, her rôle in Europe is over

for a generation. It is not surprising that in this crisis the stormy petrel of European politics is in evidence. The German Emperor is said to have seized the opportunity to propose to the Russian Government that he should undertake the military occupation of Poland. The country is seething with the most dangerous discontent: *Proximus ardet Ucalegon*, and the German Emperor may base the suggestion on the risk of contagion to which the Prussian provinces of Poland are exposed; but there is behind the obvious motive a scheme of Machiavellian policy worthy of the mischievous activity of the author. The suggestion, if acted upon, would set free 90,000 of the best Russian troops for service in the Far East, an ostensible favour to Russia for which he would not be slow to claim a full equivalent, while he is at the same time affording Russia a strong inducement to prosecute a war the effects of which have been to weaken a powerful neighbour and to make Germany the paramount naval influence in the Baltic. The danger to the public peace of a schemer who is never satisfied unless his hand appears in every centre of diplomatic action is too pressing to call for comment. Nicolson, who is of course familiar with the condition of things in Morocco, assures me that his visit has put back indefinitely the aim towards which France and England have been working in perfect harmony, and no more gratuitous act of violence towards the interests of civilisation was ever committed by the representative of a responsible Government.

June 7th.—The luncheon at the Guildhall in honour of the King of Spain's visit to the City was much like previous entertainments of the same sort, but, if possible, more tedious. The expression of the King's face in repose is dejected, not to say sombre, but it lights up with much animation when he speaks or is absorbed by anything that pleases or interests him. His speech in English in response to the toast of his health was a model of judiciously turned sentences, and his adoption of the City motto, as a prayer that he and his entertainers could both use, was very tactful. The most remarkable figure in the company was old Garcia, bearing the weight of his hundred years with extraordinary vivacity, but imperatively seeking rest through the orbs of his cavernous eyes. It seemed almost incredible that I was looking on the brother of Malibran, who died at the zenith of her fame seventy years ago.

The Duke of Wellington gave me a lift to Whitehall and wanted me to come to Apsley House and meet the King of Spain at tea; but I thought I had already given enough time to the pursuit of kings.

The Ball at Londonderry House was very splendid in its display of beautiful women and magnificent jewels, though there had been hitches in connection with it and some diplomatic friction.

Then the two Kings did not hit off their arrival at the same moment, and our Sovereign waited for five or ten minutes in the hall, where many people brushed past him without noticing who it was. I understand that the fault did not lie with those who were responsible for the King of Spain's movements, as it had been arranged that the two Kings should reach the ballroom separately, but apparently King Edward thought better, and on his arrival determined to wait for the other.

The diplomatic difficulty was of a more serious character. It appears that in the ordinary course the private secretary applied to the Spanish Embassy for a list of those who were accompanying the King, and their wives, if any : the Councillor of the Spanish Embassy, a Marquis and Grandee of Spain, in sending this information, supplied at the same time a list of the personnel of the Embassy here, upon which the private secretary was instructed to explain that it was only by the King's express wish the Ball was given, and in order to keep it as small as possible only two members of the Embassy could be asked. This the private secretary did, in a letter that a schoolboy might have addressed to a friend's governess, so baldly and clumsily was it worded. I don't blame the private secretary, who is young and inexperienced, and had no idea that a grandee of Spain need be treated differently from any importunate correspondent, between whom and his master it was his duty to stand ; but an older and wiser head would have seen that it was clearly a matter on which the Foreign Office should be consulted, and would have paused before giving immediate effect to his instructions. However, the Spanish Embassy naturally appealed to the Foreign Office, through which channel I became apprised of what had happened, and strongly advised that recourse should be had at once to Lady Londonderry, who had a head on her shoulders and would see that a blunder had been committed which must be promptly corrected. This was done, and Her Ladyship wrote a letter in Londonderry's name, throwing over the private secretary and assuring the Councillor of the Embassy that the invitations would be sent.

I was not sorry to get away early from the theatre of all this pomp to a quiet concert in Berkeley Square.

June 9th.—I went to the Academy to see Sargent's pictures. His great success had been won with Lady Helen Vincent, though the narrow limits of the canvas produced an impression of crowding which was accentuated by the effect of some crude blues in a neighbouring picture. Sargent himself, when I spoke to him about it one day after dinner at Herbert Maxwell's, had apologised for this, and remarked, as I could well believe, that the picture looked much better in his studio. He talked of the subject with great interest, and gave me to understand that he

had never drawn a more sustained inspiration from any sitter. The picture certainly gives adequate expression both to her peculiar distinction and to the subtle graces of her charm, while suggesting that the painter had been kept in proper leading-strings to the service of the ideal he had formed of his subject. Sargent's pitfall is the temptation to be run away with by some characteristic, often not the most agreeable, in those whom he depicts, but here he has been sobered and subdued by the touch of austerity which is, I have always deemed, the organic note of the subject's beauty—a note which in Constant's presentment of her dominates all else and produces an effect which is too severe, so little have the fascinations of the woman been allowed to clothe the stark emphasis of the idea.

June 14th.—A garden party at Windsor drew some 4,000 people from London.

I saw Lady Jerscy, who had just returned from Rome, very well pleased with the time occupied by the Agricultural Conference. She spoke with great cordiality of the courtesy and accommodating spirit shown by the French delegates. Gill, the head of the Irish Board of Agriculture, was one of our representatives, and his reputation as a Home Ruler so moved the Frenchmen that they called him "L'Anarchiste Gill," much to his astonishment when he discovered the dangerous character assigned to him. No practical results are likely to follow.

June 27th.—The ineptitude of the Opposition was glaringly manifested by the vote of censure debate on the South African stores scandal. The impressions produced by the Butler Report, had they been allowed to penetrate the public mind without explanation or criticism, might have done the Government incalculable harm; instead of which, by the indecent haste of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to snatch a party advantage, the late Secretary of State for War was able to put a very different complexion on the case and show cause, at any rate, for a suspension of judgment. So great indeed was the effect of St. John Brodrick's speech, that the Government obtained the best majority of the Session on a purely party issue. The case for the defence could not have been better served than by the exposure of Sir W. Butler's indictment, with its tawdry rhetoric and stage whispers, and this has been the result of the debate. I am told that the remarkable document was even more extravagant in its original form, and that, among the alliterative gems with which it sparkled, a "crinolined Columbine" figured with the "pantaloon in putties," etc. The Commission charged with the investigation of the whole matter might just as well have been confined to Farwell, Goldie, and Mowatt.

The real blunder made by the War Office lay in bringing Morgan home, instead of leaving him to carry out the scheme of sale and

repurchase which was mainly his. There was no reason for his withdrawal from South Africa beyond his own desire to get home: he was an officer of great ability and experience in the particular work with which he was charged, and the man selected to replace him was the ordinary type of commissariat officer, who had made a reputation at Aldershot as an authority on baths and bedsteads, and was without any special qualifications for the post.

June 30th.—The rain this morning led to the abandonment of the Birthday Parade. It was hopeless from the first, though Mrs. Godfrey Baring had the courage to come down.

The Birthday Dinner at Londonderry House was rather dull. The gathering of the party afterwards was a brilliant spectacle in itself and interesting to watch, which the design of the house renders easy.

July 1st.—I spent an hour at Devonshire House this morning with the Duke, who contemplates raising a discussion on the Physical Deterioration Report in the House of Lords. He has had his nose in the Report, according to Dunville, for some days, and shows a characteristic grip of the parts he has read: he proposes to take up the recommendations touching the anthropometric survey, and in the questions he put displayed that extraordinary power he has for going to the root of any problem with which he concerns himself. His Socratic method of eliminating objections by negative criticism asserted itself most triumphantly, and the gradual illumination of his mind by the process employed was very interesting to watch, both as a mental study and as evidence of the way in which the Duke's great reputation for sagacity has been built up. There is no playing here with daring hypotheses, to be laid aside so soon as they have served their purpose either to dazzle or to mystify; but the slow, sustained, painful accumulation of fact, the laboured laying of a solid foundation upon which permanent conclusions can rest.

July 8th.—Before the State Ball last night, we dined with the Archie Morrisons: one of the pleasantest dinners I have had this year. Our hostess was looking very fragile and diaphanous, but she played her part with great charm and distinction. I sat between Lady Middleton and Lady Lockhart, both agreeable women. The Ball was much as these things usually are, and I did not enjoy it particularly. We found Lady Bristol stranded, as Lord Bristol had taken her carriage home early, and Lady Howe, on whom she relied for a lift, had gone away without her. She was very dignified about it, and we were very glad to place our hired brougham at her disposal.

July 20th.—The methods of the Government in dealing with the questions of the Bishop of Ripon and the Duke of Devonshire on the Physical Deterioration Report have been very curious. On Monday I heard for the first time that the slumbering hostility

of the Home Office had become active, and that the resentment of the Local Government Board at what they believed to be a covert attack upon them would also have to be reckoned with. Londonderry, who, as President of the Board of Education, was willing to give the best account he could of the sympathies of his Department, told me that, in answering for the Home Office and the Local Government Board, if he was called upon to do it, he expected to find difficulty in treating the Report favourably, as these departments complained that the alteration in the original terms of reference had been made without consulting them, and that, under the altered circumstances, their representation on the Committee had been inadequate for the protection of their interests. We had a conference in Douglas's room at the House of Commons on Tuesday, when the feeling of the aggrieved parties broke out with some vehemence, and, though I did my best to turn away their wrath, I felt quite uncertain what line the Government might ultimately be induced to take. The next day, by Eric Barrington's desire, I sent a copy of the Report to Lord Lansdowne, with a memorandum on the points raised by the Duke and the Bishop. Lord Lansdowne received them very sympathetically, and left Morant, who saw him later in the day, with the impression that he intended to stand by the Report. The venom of the Home Office was not, however, exhausted: Douglas, voicing their discontent, for the moment believed he had captured Lord Lansdowne; Anson, who had been very friendly, was talked over, and it was freely said that the Report would be thrown over. The Duke, with that stubborn loyalty that distinguishes him, gave the first blow to the conspiracy by communicating to the Government that, as leader of the House of Lords at the time, and nominator of the Committee, he assumed full responsibility for the "enlargement" of the references. The Bishop of Ripon's speech, which was based on the Committee's recommendations for dealing with infant mortality, caught the ear of the House by its eloquence and sincerity, and the Duke marshalled the reasons for an anthropometric survey with his customary clearness and cogency, giving at the same time a convincing summary of the considerations which had led to the appointment of the Committee and incidentally brought about the expansion of its functions. The effect of this was further emphasised by a speech from Lord Meath on the same side; and Lord Shuttleworth from the front opposition bench argued the case of the Committee with great earnestness. The wind was thus completely taken out of the sails of those who sought to damage the Report, and Londonderry was too honest to afford a damaged cause means of rehabilitation. In a few sentences he criticised the feasibility of an anthropometric survey, but merely succeeded in impressing the House with his slender knowledge of what it meant or how it could be conducted.

He then diverged into a fairly sympathetic statement of what the Board of Education had done, and dealt very cursorily with the Home Office attitude; Kenyon followed with a bald and prolix narrative of the proceedings of the Local Government Board, which did not allow their resentment to appear. There was, however, a sufficient lack of cordiality about the two speeches to give Crewe a chance of rallying Ministers on their lukewarmness, which brought up Lord Lansdowne, who blessed the Report with his customary urbanity and warmly repudiated the charge of indifference to its recommendations, which he promised should engage the earnest attention of the Government. The Duke had some comments for Londonderry's speech when I saw him afterwards: "He evidently does not know what ἄνθρωπος means," he said, with Homeric laughter.

The fact is, neither the Home Office nor the Local Government Board liked the Report; the first because, by relegating a Royal Commission to a distant background, the Committee stood between them and an inquisition into the question which they would have controlled and shaped; and the second because there are elements in the office of a most obstructive and do-nothing character, and the upholders of these views had manipulated certain passages of the Report so as to make it appear that the Board's competence was impugned. The alteration in the terms of reference gave them their opportunity, but it was open to proof that the change was more a matter of explanation than enlargement, and the Duke's taking full responsibility for it checked that line of criticism altogether. The fact was, that while composed of officials, the disposition of the Committee was singularly free from official bias, and the very independence of the Report was an offence to the spirit of officialism that unfortunately dominates departmental practice. Lord Lansdowne, with his unerring *flair* for the exigencies of a critical situation, grasped the temper of the House in a way that Londonderry could not do, and gave away the authors of the intrigue by a comprehensive patronage of the Report.

I had some talk with Gerald Balfour[1] on the steps of the throne, and found him disposed to treat my explanation with great fairness, and I subsequently wrote to him in terms which were calculated to give complete satisfaction.

The attack of the Home Office was utterly unprovoked, and found me with no disposition to compromise. Their jealousy was perhaps excited by the indiscretion of Legge, who was their nominee on the Committee, and may not have kept them *en rapport* with the proceedings as scrupulously as he might. However, no imputation was made on their administration, and the intrigue to belittle and discredit the Report was a piece of gra-

[1] President of Local Government Board.

tuitous malice which very properly recoiled on the heads of its authors.

My object was gained, viz. to expose the intrigue to invalidate the Report, when Lord Lansdowne, on behalf of the Government, gave it their cordial approbation, a point of vantage from which departures of great import are inevitable in the long struggle against complacent optimism and official indifference.

The story of the amended reference was very simple. The original instrument represented the indefiniteness of view characteristic of Cabinets in touch with problems the significance of which they very dimly apprehend. When I began to scrutinise the terms and to confer with those with whom I was to work, the expediency of making its meaning plainer became apparent, and a conference I had with George Murray on the necessary financial arrangements, when he declared himself quite unable to determine what we were asked to do, decided me to submit to the Duke a draft from which the real intention of the Government might be gathered. I explained, in the letter to Gerald Balfour, my view of what the change amounted to, and that the Duke had no hesitation in agreeing to the amendment, to which Londonderry and Walter Long were also parties.

July 21*st*.—The Government were beaten last night on a motion to reduce the Chief Secretary's salary after he had expounded the ministerial plans for removing the block in Irish land purchase under the Act of 1903. The division was not a surprise, as it took place at the expected hour and full warning had been given to the supporters of the Government; yet seventy of them were away unpaired two days after the rafters of the Foreign Office had rung with the acclamations of the faithful in response to the Prime Minister's appeal to their loyalty. The Government will not, however, resign.

July 24*th*.—The statement of the Prime Minister this afternoon was just what was expected, and delivered with an engaging nonchalance which seems to anticipate a favourable reception while it provokes an angry one. The Opposition behaved with their customary ineptitude by putting themselves in a position from which they could not retire with a good grace, while producing the impression that they were willing to wound but afraid to strike. Indeed, it is not an inaccurate description of the fix they were in, for as one of them said when on Friday the idea prevailed that Ministers would resign, the party were in a state of great embarrassment, foreseeing the probability of two essays in Cabinet-making, one before and one after the General Election.

I met Mr. Balfour later at the Travellers' Club, in the best of spirits at the success of his first bout with an Opposition flushed with victory: he assured me he anticipated no difficulty in winding up the business by August 11th, and had full confidence of being

adequately supported for the remainder of the Session. In short, you might have been led to suppose he was the master of loyal legions, for so much does a brilliant and attractive personality count in the estimate of events. Well may Sir W. Harcourt have said, " Balfour is one of the rare men who make public life tolerable and even respectable."

I had a small dinner at Willis's, consisting of Hylton, who was staying with me, Tom Brand and Lady Katie, Eva Anstruther and Kathleen Farquhar : we had some good music, and an excellent dinner.

July 26th.—I saw Sandars this morning to discuss prorogation arrangements. His attitude towards the future has very sensibly changed. I had occasion, on behalf of Everard Feilding, to ask him some questions on the Prime Minister's announcements relative to enquiry touching redistribution by a Committee or Commission, when it turned out, as I expected, that nothing was intended beyond some perfunctory investigation.

July 28th.—The Lords' debate on the Duke of Devonshire's motion, which sought to define the limits within which the Colonial Conference should deliberate, was marked by a good deal of first-rate oratory. The Duke opened in an admirably reasoned speech, which he delivered with much more than his customary animation. Minto and Camperdown followed, and then Robertson, with his peculiar gift of chastened eloquence, denounced the " servility " of the Government's relations with Mr. Chamberlain, and deplored the paralysis of purpose that had fallen on the Prime Minister. His whole speech revived the tradition of an earlier style down to the impressive quotation " propter vitam vivendi perdere causas," which he applied to the Cabinet's clinging to office with incisive scorn. His attack on Chamberlain was much criticised, but it must be remembered that life-long Conservatives have been threatened with outlawry from their party for no greater offence than loyalty to their principles and professions, by one whom Hugh Cecil correctly described as an " alien immigrant," and the feeling of resentment is very bitter. After Crewe had made a careful appearance, Goschen lodged a powerful but laboured appeal with the Prime Minister to declare what he believed to be his fundamental difference from Mr. Chamberlain, and Marlborough gave the Colonial Office case, which was purely non-committal.

After dinner at the Marlborough Club with Redesdale, I returned to find Grimthorpe engaged in a bitter onslaught upon the Government from the bench immediately behind the Opposition leaders, a place he had taken, as he said with characteristic cynicism, because he had no longer the fear of constituents before his eyes. His argument showed a very complete mastery of the Free Trade position, and he displayed greater quickness than

I expected in dealing with interruptions. His style was much more spirited than one is accustomed to associate with a first effort in the House of Lords, which did not seem to have the lethargical effect it produces on many speakers : the moment was well chosen, about half-past nine, when the House was filling after dinner and the audience were both excited and expectant ; his air, though not presumptuous, was assured, and a touch of asperity emphasised his points. He concluded with a somewhat acrimonious attack on the Prime Minister, who, he declared, was consciously deceiving one or other section of his nominal followers. Londonderry repudiated this charge in a few sentences the fluency of which was marred by indignation, and then Ridley put in an appearance on behalf of the Tariff Reform League. Lord Spencer followed, and Lord Lansdowne proceeded with polished gentleness, in which he managed to introduce a dignified rebuke to Robertson, to say nothing, a point which Lord Balfour pressed home and the previous question was adopted by 121 to 57. Finlay, who was standing by me for some time, deplored very mournfully that the Prime Minister should be so misrepresented.

July 31*st.*—I spent Sunday with the Enfields. After luncheon I motored over with Lady Enfield to see Lady Agnew, with whom we found the Morpeths. In conversation with Morpeth, who, having one of the few safe seats, has no fear of a dissolution, I elicited his eagerness for that event, in regard to which he no doubt reflects the feeling of Mr. Chamberlain. He did not disguise the merriment, also felt by his leader, at the delusion under which the Cabinet appeared to labour that it was indispensable, and wondered how long their power of self-deception would be equal to the strain.

August 7th.—The expedition to Cowes for the Prorogation Council left nothing to be desired for celerity and convenience. The weather was unpromising when we left London, and heavy rain was falling at Arundel. As we neared Portsmouth, however, it became brilliantly fine, and, on clearing the Harbour mouth, the French fleet in single column line ahead were in view approaching the Nab. The Admiralty tug which had been chartered for our conveyance, was very slow, and it took an hour and a quarter before we got alongside the royal yacht, so that we had ample time for watching the animated scene presented by the Solent at the arrival of the French, numberless yachts proceeding to meet them. As soon as we were on board the " Victoria and Albert " the Council took place. The Lord President and Kintore came with me from London, and the Prince of Wales and Frank Bertie, who were with the King, made up the requisite four. As soon as it was over we went up to the main deck, and spent a quarter of an hour chatting with the King and Queen. In answer to the King's enquiries about our steamer, I told him

it was a very slow old box, but its steadiness was no doubt appreciated by the Lord President, at which he laughed. We were only on board half an hour, and took our departure just at the moment when the French fleet reached its anchorage, the place for each vessel being marked by a flagged buoy, the station of the " Masséna " being just abreast of the " Victoria and Albert," about three or four cables distant. The ships were a heterogeneous lot, comparing in this respect unfavourably with ours, and they gave one the impression of having too much top hamper. The spectacle as they approached, ship by ship, saluting the Royal Standard, was very stately and impressive. By His Majesty's bounty we had an excellent luncheon laid out on the deck of the " Volcano " under a substantial awning. We reached Portsmouth at two o'clock to the minute, and were in London by four, Londonderry and Kintore having thus ample time to reach the House of Lords before the commencement of public business.

August 8th.—I dined at the Senior with Fleetwood-Edwards. Kintore, Waldegrave, Camperdown, Kenyon, Belper, and Denbigh completed the party, which was cheerful enough considering they were almost all members of a condemned and moribund Administration. As we were going away, a *memento mori* appeared on the staircase in the person of Asquith, the Athenæum being closed.

Kintore says, when last in Berlin, where he was very hospitably entertained by the Emperor, the Empress, by whom he was sitting at luncheon, asked him : " What relation is M. Loubet to your King, that he goes to see him so often, and never pays Wilhelm a visit ? "

August 12th.—The reception of the French officers at the Palace of Westminster was admirably organised. The banquet in the Hall, at which nearly 500 sat down, was all that could be desired in arrangement and *cuisine*, and gave our guests a unique opportunity for testing the strength and cordiality of their welcome. I was in an excellent position for seeing and hearing everything. The Lord Chancellor displayed more courage than discretion in making his speech in French. It so far had the effect of shortening what he had to say, the substance of which was good enough, but the accent was that of the British schoolboy. The Prime Minister, of course, rose to the occasion and delivered a most impressive speech, marked by even more than his usual grace of diction ; its effect was curiously heightened by a gleam of sunshine penetrating into the building and resting on the admiral's head just as the toast of the French nation was given. The Speaker was at his best, John Morley laboured and ill at ease. With this ceremony the hospitalities to the French fleet came to a fitting close, the *Entente* reaching the high-water mark of mutual satisfaction and goodwill. The judicious action of the Admiralty

in according lavish courtesy to the representatives of the French Press contributed to the result in no little degree. Blatin of the "Siècle" expressed himself on the subject with the most unstinted enthusiasm. Blatin declares, on the authority of Loubet himself, that when the King passed through Paris after the German Emperor's sallies in Morocco, he told the President to pay no attention to his nephew's eccentricities, adding with emphasis: "Il est un énergumène."

September 11*th.*—From August 14th to September 2nd I was on board Spencer Chapman's yacht, the "Aldebaran," along the Devon and Cornwall coast. The weather for the most part was very unfavourable, but we had intervals that gave a zest to the pleasure of seafaring. Salcombe and the Helford River were the only two places into which I had not been before, both in their way among the most beautiful on the coast; but I was glad to see Mount Edgecumbe again, where we had luncheon with its most courteous owner, and gave more time than on any previous occasion to the enjoyment of Falmouth. On leaving the yacht, I spent Sunday at Plymouth, from which I went to luncheon at Port Eliot, and came on here (Ammerdown).

October 11*th.*—After three weeks in the north I have now been back in London for a week, as it had become necessary to arrange a Council for the further prorogation of Parliament, Ministers having declined the favourable opportunity for a dissolution that the closing of the war and the renewal of the Japanese alliance on a firm basis appeared to give them. I saw Sandars this morning, and learnt it was Mr. Balfour's intention to run the risks of another Session, which he proposed to open on January 30th or February 6th.

Sandars gives the best possible account of his chief's health and spirits, and I did not therefore presume to question the wisdom of his losing the present opportunity to dissolve; but it is clear from every indication of popular feeling that no such another will be allowed him, except by a miracle, and in the meantime all the dearest interests of the Conservative Party are likely to be compromised. The taunt was levelled against the second French Republic "Elle n'a pas compris qu'un gouvernement doit mettre sa durée au-dessus de ses principes." Ministers are certainly not liable to any such charge.

October 13*th.*—The appearance of Lord Granville's "Life" has excited a good deal of comment by the evidence it affords of the direct influence exercised by the Queen on the conduct of foreign affairs, during the negotiations that followed the preliminaries of Villafranca, and again when the fate of the Danish duchies was in dispute. It is not to the point that her views in the latter crisis were based on as sound an estimate of the situation as previously they had been short-sighted and incomplete,

and in both they appear to have been those of the majority of the Cabinet ; but the question now asked is whether it was right or prudent to make use of Lord Granville on the first occasion as a sentinel upon Lords Palmerston and Russell, whose policy she distrusted as much as she disliked them personally, and on the second to use him ostensibly to defeat their aims in a Cabinet of which they were the two principal members. I am told that Lord Lansdowne strongly deprecated the publication of the correspondence, but was overruled by the King ; nor in this is there any cause for surprise. It is obviously the King's interest to show that, in claiming the weight he wields on the course of foreign policy, he is acting in strict accordance with the practice of the Crown in previous reigns, and it is no improbable conjecture that the regard in which the late Queen's memory is still held may appear to him a valuable instrument for ensuring to the Sovereign the exercise of power he thinks essential to the maintenance of his position. Lord Russell chafed at the restraint in 1864, and talked impatiently about a state of despotism —which of course was absurd.

October 20th.—We dined last night with the Adeanes, where I met Lady Leconfield, whom I had last seen at dinner when I was private secretary to Edward Stanhope in July 1885. She takes a vivid interest in the political speculations that are centred in her illustrious brother, though I cannot say she was able to throw much light upon the movements of that enigmatic mind. Under a somewhat passionless exterior she preserves a good deal of latent animation, as appeared when, in connection with the way in which the Protestant drum had been beaten at recent elections, I happened to say I loathed Protestantism and all its works, she exclaimed, " Oh ! I am so glad to hear you say that ! " and cordially shook hands with me.

October 21st.—I was glad to hear from Sandars to-day that the Duke of Devonshire had refused to take the chairmanship of the Poor Law Commission, giving as one of his reasons that he might have decided differently if the scope of the enquiry had covered the causes of non-employment, wishing, it is presumed, to test the allegations of the Fiscal Reformers that Free Trade is in a great measure responsible for it. It is to be hoped that the Government will not repeat the mistake of seeking a chairman among elderly statesmen, whose views are limited by the ideas that have dominated the administration of the Poor Law for the last half-century. The example of other countries is emphatic in favour of what are sometimes termed " socialistic " experiments, and you want a man who, with prudence and judgment, will not be afraid of giving such an impulse to the investigations of the Commission.

October 22nd.—I saw the Duke of Devonshire this evening, who

was curious to know for how long Parliament was to be prorogued : not that he expected a dissolution, though some of his friends still thought it possible. I told him he might take it that the Prime Minister's present intention was to meet Parliament, but I thought he might be beaten very early in the Session, which he also seemed to think probable.

Lord Spencer, he told me, had not recovered his speech, and was politically dead : " Unfortunately," he said, " we are no use unless we can talk." He commented on Lord Spencer's poverty as a speaker, particularly in respect of range of language. He gave a very poor account of the Duchess, who is said to have had something in the nature of a stroke at Aix, and looked desperately ill at Newmarket this week.

October 23rd.—At the Council this morning there were no less than five : Kintore having begged to be summoned, to avoid an irksome call to Edinburgh, and I decided not to let Windsor off, which proved consistent with his wishes. He is so overshadowed by the masterful personality of Pom McDonnell at the Office of Works that he is always glad of an opportunity to get access to his Sovereign, without doing violence to his modesty by asking for an interview. The King, I am glad to say, took note of his presence and retained him for an audience afterwards.

There is rather a good story, which I am told is absolutely true, of some young woman at Marienbad who was pressed by the King to play bridge, excusing herself on the grounds of her ignorance of the game, adding quite innocently, " I really don't know a King from a Knave."

November 4th.—Chamberlain was at his best last night. His application of Lord Granville's description of the Peelites to Lord Rosebery was bitter, and his smashing rejoinder to Londonderry, in referring to him as the creature of the Prime Minister who yet misrepresented his policy and was disloyal to his aims, was instinct with savage contempt. The speech, however, is not an auspicious introduction to the appearance of the Prime Minister at Newcastle, whither he goes from Wynyard the week after next, and serves to illustrate the incompatibilities that it is Mr. Balfour's present task to reconcile.

Meanwhile, the Unionist Press, with one consent, advocates an early dissolution, and it will be seen whether Ministers are to justify Lloyd George's epigram that they will die with their drawn salaries in their hands.

November 6th.—The materials for a crisis are all at hand. The amenities that have passed between Londonderry and the Chamberlains, have, it is believed, been followed by a temperate but strongly worded representation from J. C. to the Prime Minister asking for an early repudiation of Londonderry's assumption

that he keeps the fiscal conscience of the Prime Minister and is better informed upon his views than Mr. Chamberlain. Without giving this communication the character of an ultimatum, it acquired particular significance, seeing that the Prime Minister's first opportunity for declaring himself will be at Newcastle next week, whither he goes to address the Conservative Association's annual gathering from Wynyard itself; and Sandars was no doubt right when, in conversation yesterday, he indicated that the outcome of the next Cabinet Council, which is to be held on Wednesday, will probably determine whether Ministers are "men or mice." Londonderry, having rushed blindly into an attack on Mr. Chamberlain, is now in consternation at the effect of his interference, and is telegraphing to his private secretaries instructions, in which defiance is curiously mixed up with contradictions of some of the statements that have been made in his own behalf.

November 8th.—A Cabinet crisis has been averted. The Prime Minister's ingenuity has again been equal to reconciling the irreconcilable. He saw Londonderry before the Cabinet met and treated him to a full measure of the dulcet charm which none can exercise so well as he. His indiscretions were dealt with very lightly, and in reward for reticence in the future he was promised that things should be made as easy for him at Newcastle as was possible. When the Cabinet met Londonderry and Austen Chamberlain had an angry altercation across the table, but, after they had been permitted to blow off sufficient steam, the Prime Minister pointed out that there was still a residuum of principle upon which they could act together, and appealed to his colleagues not to destroy the edifice he had so laboriously built up, with, he might have added, approaches from all sides and ways of retreat in every direction. In the end Ministers were content to remain bound in the gossamer web of their chief's dexterities, and Austen will have to make the best of the situation with his father.

November 15th.—Luncheon at the Guildhall to meet the King of Greece. The company was smaller than usual, to the increased comfort of those who took part in the ceremony. The King produced a very favourable impression, and seemed pleased at the tokens given of his popularity, and particularly at the success which attended his reference to "the ties connecting him with our beloved and beautiful Queen." The Lord Mayor was totally inaudible. I sat between the Bishop of Stepney and the President of the Royal College of Surgeons (Mr. Tweedy). The Bishop said he had just met someone who had come through from Baku via Odessa. The streets of Odessa he described as running in blood, but it seemed nothing to him after the horrors he had witnessed at Baku. The Bishop was very apprehensive of the difficulties

in the East End likely to arise from the numbers of the unemployed.

I had some conversation with the Attorney-General about the Prime Minister's speech, with which he professed himself satisfied. The general impression seems to be that he has gone as little as possible in the direction of fortifying Chamberlain, though the delegation of the Conservative Associations were almost unanimous in his favour.

November 19th.—At luncheon I met Ivan Müller, who now controls "The Daily Telegraph" and is therefore in closer confidence with the Prime Minister than any but the inner ring of the Cabinet. He shares the view that a considerable tactical advantage will rest with the Unionist Party, if the Liberals are forced to take office before a dissolution, and had reason to think that the resignation of Ministers might precede the meeting of Parliament, and indeed looked for it shortly after the Christmas holidays. He himself was strongly in favour of such a course, and believed the party would be in a better position to face the constituencies than at a general election with the Government still in office. Müller believes the Unionist Party will emerge from a General Election 250 strong: I am inclined to think the figure will be nearer 200.

November 20th.—At the Council to-day the King, who had only just come up from Windsor, kept us some time waiting. This perhaps was too much for the nerves of Mr. Cohen, who was to be sworn, as for some cause or another he forgot everything he had been told and behaved with the rigidity of a corpse. However, with assiduous prompting he got through the ceremony, though once or twice the King looked helplessly at me as if to enquire what he might do next. The Archbishop of Canterbury was determined to have his audience, and, by asking after the King's health as he left the room, constrained His Majesty to detain him for a few minutes, which he had obviously not intended to do. The King did not look any the worse for his accident, and proposes to shoot this week from the donkey carriage used by the late Queen.

November 22nd.—London was scared this morning by ominous articles in "The Times" and "Daily Telegraph" intimating that after Mr. Chamberlain's speech the Prime Minister had no choice but an early resignation, "The Telegraph" enlarging upon the note struck in my conversation with Müller on Sunday. Both papers seem to assume that Campbell-Bannerman would have no choice but to step into the breach and lose all the advantages that obviously belong to the construction of a Cabinet after, rather than before, a general election. The calculation seems to be that, Chamberlain having failed to respond to Mr. Balfour's appeal for unity, has left him no choice, unless he is

prepared to see the party go to the country with an avowedly Protectionist programme under the other's leadership.

November 24th.—The Cabinet rose after more than two hours' deliberation, with no more definite resolution than to meet again next Friday. Before they met I saw Linlithgow, who was very strong on the indignity to which the Prime Minister had been exposed by the proceedings at Newcastle and their sequel in Mr. Chamberlain's speech: circumstances which in his opinion made an early resignation inevitable, as the only course consistent with self-respect. I was a little surprised, however, to hear from Londonderry, after the Cabinet was over, that not only was the whole question postponed for a week, but it was still undecided whether they would meet Parliament. It is clear that "The Times" and "Telegraph," with whatever inspiration they may have acted, overdid their brief, as newspapers are apt to do; but for all that the situation remains much as they described it, and resignation or dissolution presents the only possible alternatives.

December 2nd.—The adjourned meeting of the Cabinet has resulted in a definite resolve on the part of the Prime Minister to tender his resignation. Lord Lansdowne is believed to have advocated dissolution as providing the Government with a more dignified exit from office, but, whatever the feelings of some of his colleagues, the Prime Minister is no doubt within his right in determining for himself when the moment has come to lay down power. He feels acutely the position in which he has been placed by the politician he has treated with so much forbearance. Lord Rosebery's speech at Bodmin, with whatever intention it was delivered, has had the effect of removing the last scruple of Campbell-Bannerman in the way of taking office before a General Election, and, in the event of his being able to form a Government, which there is no longer any reason to doubt, the change will be effected within the next fortnight.

I was with Sandars for some time to-day, and gathered that, though the time for their interview had not yet been fixed, Mr. Balfour would seek an audience with the King on Monday, when the actual conditions of the crisis would be defined; but his impression was that the King would offer no obstacle to the realisation of the Prime Minister's wishes, and that Campbell-Bannerman would at once be sent for. The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that Parliament now stands prorogued to December 12th, and the King has appointed a Council to be held on the 5th, for the further prorogation, which in ordinary circumstances would be done in the form of a summons for the despatch of business some day in January or February. This of course is out of the question, and the obvious alternative of a prorogation to some date that would cover the arrangements

antecedent to the incoming of a new Administration and leave it a margin to determine the date of a dissolution, is, for some reason or other, distasteful to Mr. Balfour, who seems to think he ought not to take any responsibility for the disposal of Parliament after his resignation was accepted and the leader of the Opposition sent for. I pointed out that if Parliament was not prorogued on the 5th it could hardly be expected that the new Ministry would be in a position to assume responsibility for the step by the 11th, which was the last day on which it could be taken, and further urged that no question of constitutional propriety could possibly be involved, as the step was purely ministerial and could have no significance outside considerations of general convenience in which all concerned shared. Of course, if the Prime Minister thought fit, Campbell-Bannerman could be consulted, but I did not think it necessary. In the result Sandars asked me to furnish him with a Memorandum stating my views, which he could lay before Mr. Balfour, and then obtain a decision in time to be communicated to the King. This I did, supporting my position with proofs that the prorogation of Parliament at this juncture to a date dictated by public convenience could not in any way presume upon the intention or limit the freedom of the incoming Administration.

Lord Rosebery's speech dissociating himself from the "Home Rule" Flag which he affirms C.-B. to have raised, is diversely interpreted. By some it is held to have been a bid for the support of the Free Trade Unionist with a view to the formation of a middle party with some pretensions to parliamentary strength, as an alternative to a Campbell-Bannerman Administration, should that prove impracticable; by others it is regarded as no more than a sign of one of those periodical fits of discontent which wait upon the display of his brilliant gifts.

December 6th.—Mr. Balfour's resignation having been accepted, and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman having charged himself with the duty of forming a Cabinet, I thought it as well to call on the last-named, in order to obtain a date for the ensuing prorogation and to outline the arrangements necessary for the transfer of Seals to incoming Ministers. Beneath his somewhat heavy aspect there lurks a great deal of natural courtesy and *bonhomie*, and our interview passed very pleasantly. He has reason to believe Cabinet-making would occupy longer than the 11th, when Parliament had to be prorogued, and appeared to think himself a little hardly used in having to undertake the task so unexpectedly, but spoke with cheerfulness of his prospects of success. In leaving with him a Memorandum of the proceedings that have to be taken on a change of Government, I ventured on a passing allusion to the time that had elapsed since he had been engaged on them, which he took in very good part.

December 8th.—" The Times " this morning, in comment upon a statement that appeared in another part of the paper, announcing authoritatively that Sir E. Grey had declined to take office, let itself go with a very free criticism on the impotence of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman without the Liberal Imperialists. The writer of the article had evidently received instructions to hammer the rising hopes of the new Administration and deal the Premier as damaging a blow as he knew how—a task upon which he entered in the smashing style with which the traditions of " The Times " have made its readers familiar for more than a century. The effect was remarkable, but not exactly in the sense looked for by the promoters of the journal. It appears that Haldane and Sir E. Grey, who is staying with him, had decided, after prolonged consultation, to remain outside, and to that extent " The Times " was well informed. Lord Rosebery's attitude was partly responsible for this decision, but there were other features in the situation not altogether satisfactory to them, and, with the friendliest intention towards the Ministry, they had communicated to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman their resolution to stand aside for a time and see how he got on, reserving at least their liberty of action till after the election. Haldane saw Sir Henry last night, and had been much moved by the strong personal appeal made to him, though without effect upon the substance of his resolve ; and so the matter stood till at breakfast this morning he and Sir Edward read " The Times " article. Here, they said, is a deliberate attempt to smash the credit of the new Government from its inception ; and indignation at the language employed set the seal to an instant change of purpose. Within half an hour Sir Edward Grey was at 29 Belgrave Square, accepting on behalf of himself and Haldane the seals of the Foreign and War Offices, and " The Times " had done more to give force and cohesion to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry than any other single agency.

Haldane might have had the Chancellorship if he had asked for it, but he had no desire to stand in the way of Sir R. Reid's ambition, and recognised, perhaps, that if he took office there was one place for which more than any other circumstances had marked him out. Everyone, it appears, shrank from the War Office, the grave of so many reputations ; and his strength, courage, and, I would add, chivalry, invited him to the destiny that involved the greatest risks and at the same time the most conspicuous distinction. The first are for the moment most present to his mind, for when I saw him he talked with great earnestness and sincerity of the task that lay before him and the methods by which he hoped to avoid the failure that had overtaken his two immediate predecessors. I could not help warmly applauding the patriotism and public spirit that animated his resolution, not

to speak of the pecuniary sacrifice it involved. He has, however, the confidence of those who know him, for he has all the qualities in which the laborious doctrinaire, whom he succeeds, is deficient, and withal a suavity and suppleness in dealing with men which is of the first importance in an office where the personal equation is supreme. He will, as he told me, begin by habits of the most patient observation, but he intends to put his back into the job, and hopes, if he has three years of it, to evolve order out of a chaos of baffled intrigue and distracted purpose. Esher, he tells me, pressed him to take it, and I have no doubt the King's influence has been thrown into the same scale. Cawdor, whom I saw at the Admiralty this morning, will be disappointed, as he then confidently hoped Haldane was his successor designate, and had some misgiving about the alternative suggested, in the person of Tweedmouth, who he doubted would be strong enough to keep Sir J. Fisher under adequate control, a duty that he had found taxed his vigilance to the utmost. With these appointments and that of Elgin to the Colonial Office, the principal places will not be badly filled.

December 9th.—I had an interview with Sinclair this morning at Campbell-Bannerman's house, which is besieged by journalistic runners and Kodak sharpshooters. Sinclair was able to promise the complete list of the new Cabinet by the evening, and was to see Knollys in the course of the day upon the date when it might be convenient for the King to hold the Dissolution Council at the beginning of next year. Sinclair himself is to be Secretary for Scotland with a seat in the Cabinet, great promotion for a comparatively young and untried man. Some difficulty has been experienced by the absence of the King all this week, but he has made up for it by showing a most accommodating spirit in regard to all the arrangements that have been proposed to him. Knollys, telephoning late in the afternoon, used the comprehensive phrase, "The King agrees to everything," and has fixed 3.30 on Monday for the Council at which the new Ministry will be installed in office. Lloyd George at the Board of Trade cannot do any harm, and Birrell at the Board of Education may do some good. We are to have Crewe, who is a man of wide culture and good judgment, and a great gentleman. Harcourt at the Office of Works will make his own exquisiteness the standard of administrative success.

December 10th.—I went up to Londonderry House to give the Lord President a coaching for his last Council. He shared my regret that Sir W. Anson was not included in the list of new Privy Councillors. I had thought of mentioning it to him a little while ago, but it was no part of my business, and it ought to have occurred to him or his private secretary; but there is a curious lack of consideration in matters of the kind unless suggested

from outside. The unusual honour to Sandars is no doubt justified by the extraordinary confidence reposed in him for ten years by Mr. Balfour. Lady Londonderry came in before I left, and had some shrewd remarks to make on the situation. She was obviously disappointed at the Liberal Imperialists having identified themselves so completely with Campbell-Bannerman, realising that it enormously increased the defensive resources of the new Administration and sets the return of her own friends back indefinitely. I was at the office from three to six, maturing the arrangements for the Second Council, which were modified by my hearing from Sinclair that Lord Ripon will take the Privy Seal and Sir H. Fowler the Duchy of Lancaster.

December 11*th*.—A very busy day. The transfer of seals was carried through in the blackest of fogs, which gave an opportunity to the wit of the irreverent. I went up to Berkeley Square to pay my respects to the incoming Lord President (Crewe) and give him some hints of the procedure. On reaching the office I received a visit of farewell from Lady Londonderry, who had come down to give some brilliance to her husband's exit. As always, she was extremely cordial and courteous, but did not disguise her regret at the surrender of the Government and the manner of it. She would have met Parliament and fought the issue with the Opposition to the end. "There is one neck," she said, "I should like to wring!" and she blamed Mr. Balfour for not at the outset having tackled Mr. Chamberlain and told him that on such an issue there could not be two leaders. If he had done this, and enforced his ultimatum by insisting on his retirement in default of compliance, she believed that the whole course of the movement might have been deflected into a channel consistent with the maintenance of party unity.

On arrival at Buckingham Palace I was sent for by the King, who gave his directions for the conduct of the Council, which he did not wish attended by more than five of the out-going Ministers—the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, the Lord President, Douglas, and Lord Lansdowne—it being his intention to receive all the rest afterwards. This was accordingly done, and the business did not take long, an air of general cheerfulness prevailing. I left the Palace with Lord Halsbury in a dense fog. Referring to his surrender of the Great Seal I remarked, "At any rate, you have the satisfaction of feeling you held it longer than anyone since Lord Eldon, and I should like to add as worthily as the greatest of your predecessors"; whereupon the old gentleman seized me most warmly by the hand and gulped out, "Thank you very much!" We were just at the point where our ways parted, and the incident was thus treated by a representative of "The Westminster Gazette" who was on the look out for copy: "Like the entrance, so the departure was incidentless

and devoid of interest. Ex-Ministers departed in ones and twos, whether on foot or in vehicles, and when at 12.30 Mr. Almeric FitzRoy shook hands with Lord Halsbury close to the sentry-box, the few remaining spectators—who included a small host of disappointed snapshotters—felt that the last of the late Ministry had at length been seen."

I was back at Buckingham Palace shortly after three, when the new men began filing in. Sir H. Fowler was the first to arrive, Lord Crewe second, and Elgin third, whom I was very glad, as a friend of Oxford days, to congratulate cordially on the high office to which he had been called. I had taken the precaution to send to each new Minister with his summons a paper setting forth in detail the proceedings of the Council and indicating the part each had to play, and I was glad to find that they had all read it carefully and did not stand in need of much individual coaching. I therefore concentrated my attention on the new Privy Councillors, headed by Sir R. Reid, who was to be sworn Lord Chancellor. In the result everything went with the precision of clockwork, and the whole transaction was marked by dignity and reverent order, though Mr. John Burns showed doubtful taste in attending in what is called a "reefer," and a very short one. To Lloyd George I took rather a fancy; he is bright, pleasant, and courteous; and the line being brought up by Harcourt I had the advantage of someone on the flank with the instinct of ceremonial usage. The whole proceedings lasted over half an hour, and we had left the Palace by four o'clock.

On my way out the Duke of Connaught congratulated me on the way it had been conducted. As the stage-manager for the introduction of a new and aspiring company, I felt that the auditory was at least satisfied with the bow they had made, all and singular.

December 13*th*.—My belief that Campbell-Bannerman would not have taken office but for Lord Rosebery's Bodmin speech is confirmed on pretty direct authority. I am further told that C.-B.'s declaration on Home Rule was not the mere expression of his personal views, but a carefully planned statement of policy which was put into his hands with the privity and sanction of Lord Rosebery's principal adherents. It is a singular illustration of how little mutual confidence really subsists between close political associates.

The story of Haldane's first connection with the War Office as a member of the Explosives Committee is rather curious. His attainments as a chemist are, as everyone knows, considerable, and, as Counsel in a celebrated case of infringement of patent, he had obtained a complete mastery over the chemistry of cordite just at the moment when, in the days of Lord Lansdowne's administration, the Department were in great difficulties over the

imperfeetions of the new explosive. One day, as Lord Lansdowne was coming up from Bowood, he happened to travel in the same carriage with Haldane, and, touching on the subject, was amazed at the depth and extent of the other's knowledge. On reaching the War Office he sent for Sir H. Brackenbury, and said, " While we are groping in the dark here, I have found a man who knows more than all my experts put together." Haldane was immediately asked to become a member of the Explosives Committee, and the accident of a chance conversation was the vehicle for the solution of one of the most complex problems that had ever confronted a Secretary of State.

At dinner last night I found myself between the Austrian wife of M. Villars, the London correspondent of one of the French newspapers, and Lady Watts, the Belgian wife of the Chief Naval Constructor at the Admiralty. M. Villars, whom I talked to after dinner, told me an amusing story of Lord Granville's relations with Challemel Lacour, who for a short time represented the French Government in London. A man of great ability, but without diplomatic experience, he took umbrage at Lord Granville's practice of making notes of his conversations with foreign diplomatists, and on the first occasion burst out : " Ah ! you do not believe my word ! Where is paper and ink ? I also will take notes."

At dinner on Sunday I was sitting next an American lady whose curiosity was excited by current remarks as to my occupation, upon which I told her I was a sort of scene-shifter in the Imperial theatre. She evidently thought I was in one of the lower rungs of the theatrical ladder, and I did not undeceive her.

December 15th.—At luncheon to-day with Mrs. Hope, I met the Kerrys and Sir R. and Lady Rodd. Kerry has just found a constituency (N. Westmorland) which he may contest with some chance of success. In addition to his own personal qualities his father's prestige and his wife's charms ought to secure a triumphant return ; the sitting Member, a protégé of Lady Carlisle's, one Lief Jones, has in two years made himself most unpopular.

Portsmouth showed some lack of humour this afternoon in observing that a plentiful supply of pomatum was wanted at the War Office to keep the hair down, so much of which had been lately made to stand on end. One would have thought that hair was the last thing he would have chosen as the material for metaphor. Writing the night before to Haldane, I had expressed the hope that his first executive act might be to cut his under-secretary's hair !

December 20th.—I met Haldane on his way to the War Office, and congratulated him on having brought Nicholson into his Council. His action was quite a *coup de théâtre* in form : applying the analogy of the Board of Admiralty, which is dissolved

by a change in any one of its members, he reminded the Council on first meeting them that they had ceased to exist, and, before they had recovered from this blandly conveyed announcement, proceeded to say that under the warrant constituting the new Council the name of Sir W. Nicholson would be substituted for that of General Plumer. The last-named had no choice but to acquiesce with the best grace he could assume, and the rest remained mute with satisfaction that they were not to follow him into retirement. Haldane intends to employ Portsmouth as the ornamental figure of the Council and send him abroad to attend foreign manœuvres. It appears he was anxious to go to the Colonial Office, and in conversation with Campbell-Bannerman urged upon him the advantage of having a " Grand Seigneur " to entertain colonial notabilities.

December 21*st*.—The disposal of the Lord Stewardship and Mastership of the Horse has created some surprise, neither Lord Hawkesbury nor Lord Sefton having been deemed emulous of such distinction ; but the choice was narrowed by the number of Peers steeped in directorates which they were unwilling to relinquish. Frank Lascelles, however, says that a few weeks ago, in discussing the prospects of a Liberal Ministry with Mrs. Asquith, he asked her how long they were likely to hold office, whereupon she replied with decision, " You may be certain of one thing : when we come in we mean to stay." On the other hand, George Murray, who has no inconsiderable experience of Liberal Cabinets, expressed to me the conviction that the seeds of disintegration were born in them from the first, and he did not believe that even ten years of Opposition had taught them any salutary lessons. Trouble he predicted as certain from John Morley, and in a most acute form. Personally I think his view is clouded by reminiscences of the Rosebery Cabinet and the sufferings of its chief in the presence of Cabinet intrigues.

December 22*nd*–29*th*.—We spent Christmas at Ammerdown, a truly magnificent exercise of hospitality, as it included two children of uncertain age, difficult to get into the society of the young or mature. The party consisted of Sir E. and Lady Birkbeck, Mrs. Burnaby, Dickinson, M.P. for the Wilts division, and H. Neville.

There was a children's party at Longleat on Thursday the 28th, for which we stayed.

December 31*st*.—We went on to Brympton, to spend three days with Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane, in a house of peculiar architectural beauty and with singularly appropriate surroundings. The entrance, which is approached from the west, past a beautiful little church and mediæval chantry-house, is adorned with a richly decorated Tudor front, and the long south side, which opens on a broad terrace with coeval parapet, is pierced by two

noble rows of windows from drawings of Inigo Jones, and surmounted by a balustrade of equally fine design. Montacute, which is lordly and of statelier proportions, left me cold owing to the depressing uniformity of all its features. Sir Spencer was full of interesting reminiscences, and bears lightly the weight of more than eighty years, in spite of the extreme cold to which he is exposed from residence in a very imperfectly warmed house.

1906

January 2nd.—I returned to London to make preparation for the Council on the 8th, at which Parliament is to be dissolved. The Prime Minister's people, being new to the work, are a little slow in giving the necessary information for the swearing in of persons whose appointment to certain offices is attended with Privy Councillorships; but, fortunately, Knollys furnished me with a full list. Mr. John Ellis desires to affirm, which seems rather a belated sacrifice to Quaker scruple.

January 5th.—I spent this day at Rye, where the Butlers are staying in the Mermaid Club, an old fifteenth-century building in black and white. I came down last night and occupied a room in which there was not a straight line, either horizontal or perpendicular, and in part of which it was impossible to stand upright. Rye itself is the quaintest pyramid of red roofs, pierced by clambering streets with cobbles too rough for any wheeled traffic. The church at the summit of the hill bears witness to the population that once gathered under its shadow, and, within the parapet of the battery to the south, there is a terrace from which the eye ranges over miles of marsh towards Romney and Dungeness, through which a winding line of silver indicates the course of the Rother to the sea. In the afternoon I walked with Cecily to Winchelsea, which occupies a parallel bastion thrown out two miles to the west from the escarpment of the old coast-line. I have seen many places from which the tide of life has receded, but none upon which the paralysis of time has fallen more heavily. The magnificent fragment of a church, the building of which was arrested by the Black Death, and streets laid out foursquare, upon which a few scattered houses open, alone recall the importance of a place that six centuries ago contributed ten ships to the fleets of the Plantagenets. About a mile off, on the marshes, Camber Castle, a Norman pile, marks the site of old Winchelsea, which was swept away in a furious gale by the rising sea one evening in 1289, when the tide poured up the valley nearly as far as Brede, and Edward I consoled the homeless refugees with the grant of the hill which at present bears the name.

On our way back the sun glared for a moment like an angry eye through a rent in the clouds just as it touched the horizon,

and then Winchelsea faded from our ken in the gathering storm-wrack.

We had tea with Henry James, anchorite and novelist, who has a hermitage at Rye, and there nurses in spacious reverie his spiritual enchantments, not seldom the fruit of sheer loneliness of soul.

January 8th.—The Council for the Dissolution of Parliament was held to-day at 3.30, which rendered it practically impossible that the elections should begin before Saturday, a day held favourable in the estimation of the popular party for those constituencies who had the prerogative vote, to poll.

The Council was composed of the Lord President, Lord Tweedmouth, Lord Althorp, and Hayter. Althorp was full of pride in the possession of his wand, which indeed I had great difficulty in persuading him to lay aside when we went into the Council. Things turned out pretty well, though Mr. Ellis, in reading his affirmation of allegiance, took occasion to make it to King Edward VIII. Beauchamp seemed pleased with his office, which is to go with the representation of the Irish Government in the Upper House, so that he will have plenty of work. It appears that the Duke of Manchester is to have the Yeomen of the Guard; so the Ministry will not be without ducal associations!

On returning to the office I found that "Labby's" editor had called with a characteristic letter from his principal in Italy to the effect that, though he had not received it, he understood that a formal notification had been addressed to him that he should attend for the purpose of being sworn as a Privy Councillor. His innocence was such, however, that he really did not know what a Privy Councillor was, but he presumed there must be an office in London presided over by some eminent official who could give him information, or at any rate cause it to be furnished through one of his subordinates, and to that end he begged his editor to go on the necessary quest. The evening brought a letter to me from the same source, not couched in a similar vein of pleasantry, but in acknowledgment of the letter of summons, which had now come to hand, having been sent on to him by a certain Russian, among whose letters it had got mixed up owing to the proverbial carelessness of Italian methods in such matters, particularly at Christmas.

January 19th.—The first day of the elections sufficed to lay the rising hopes of the Unionist Party in the dust, and those that succeeded have made it evident that the different elements for the moment enlisted under the Liberal banner are about to achieve the greatest electoral victory since Pitt smote the forces of the Coalition in 1784. Seven members of the late Cabinet have lost their seats, and the total strength of the party in the next Parliament hardly promises to exceed 150, which will give official

From the portrait by J. S. Sargent, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery.

HENRY JAMES.

Liberalism a majority of 100 over the combined vote of Ireland, Labour, and the formal Opposition. A great many causes have contributed to this result, among which I am not disposed to underrate the capital that has been so shamelessly made out of Chinese Labour; but, with all that can be conceded to the resentment of the Nonconformists at the educational policy of the late Government, there can be no doubt that the greater part of the victory has been won upon the fiscal issue, aggravated by the extraordinary mystification with which it has been treated under the conditions forced upon the late Prime Minister.

I attended last night a Council Meeting of the Stage Society, where it befell me to find myself supporting and receiving the support of Mr. Bernard Shaw, whose interventions in discussion were characterised by the whimsical shrewdness that might have been expected. His observation that he could follow French when read by an Englishman, but not when read by a Frenchman, had a quaint simplicity, and the suggestion that a play called "Women of Shem" would draw better if entitled "Women of Shame" was distinctly witty; but he did not indulge in any long monologues. It was settled that I should ask George Wyndham to preside at the Annual Dinner, which I have done. In regard to the play to be selected for the third representation, I ventured to mention Verhaeren's "Les Aubes" recently translated by A. Symons, and the Reading Committee was convoked to report upon its suitability, of which I am bound to say I know little; but he is an introspective, not to say morbid writer of extraordinary delicacy and distinction, of whom his countrymen think more highly than they do of Maeterlinck. "Les Aubes" is his only piece of dramatic writing so far.

January 21*st.*—I dined alone with the Hyltons, who are back in their old house, 18 New Cavendish Street. George told me there was a movement among a considerable section of Conservative Peers to demand from the party leaders a specific repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain, in default of which they would be prepared to act with the moderate Liberals and give a general support to the Government, so long as they did not identify themselves with extreme measures.

January 24*th.*—I met Stanley, the first of the defeated ex-Ministers to whom I have had an opportunity of talking. He attributes his defeat and all the disasters in Lancashire to the uprising of Labour. Working men who had been his supporters for years, and had actually been working for him in the earlier stages of the late contest, suddenly transferred their allegiance to his Labour opponent on the direction of the Trades Union authorities. The solidarity of Labour through the length and breadth of the country had the most striking illustration, for wherever a Labour candidate stood no length of service or weight

of personal influence counted for anything in the opposite scale. For ten years Labour has been working to this end, but the cross-issues that were prominent at the General Election of 1900 assisted to mask what was going on and to prepare the present surprise. Stanley does not believe the fiscal question as such had much effect, except in so far as the Labour organisations have for the moment accepted Free Trade as an article of faith: it was rather the conviction, for the first time born in the working classes, that their social salvation is in their own hands and the accident that this conviction happened to coincide with a period of Liberal reaction in the political sense, that gave any party significance to the defeat of Toryism in Lancashire.

January 26th.—Tom Legh, with whom I had a long talk this afternoon, confirmed what Stanley had said about Lancashire, but with greater independence of the official standpoint. The uprising of Labour was no doubt the principal factor, as was strikingly exemplified in his old constituency of Newton; but there were other circumstances which gave it opportunity and augmented its force. Arthur Balfour was with him the Sunday after his defeat, and seems to have been very candid as to its causes. The fiscal question was not prominent in Manchester except in Winston Churchill's division, which was no doubt won upon it; but in the rest of Manchester it was Labour working on the lack of interest felt in the fortunes of the late Government. He told Newton he wished to dissolve in the early autumn, which comes as a curious confirmation of the view I expressed some months ago, but was prevented doing so by those who professed to read the feelings of the party. It is unhappily true that political wiseacres are the worst guides at critical moments, and purely party moves are thus born in miscalculation and fructify in failure.

January 27th.—Crewe was in some perturbation this morning, as he came straight from Windsor, where Knollys had represented to him the King's wish to avoid giving the formal assent required by the Royal Marriages Act, 1772, to the betrothal of Princess Ena of Battenberg. As the young lady's uncle, he is glad enough she should occupy the Spanish throne, but, as King of the United Kingdom, he is afraid of the unpopularity in which he may be involved by her becoming a Catholic as a step to the marriage. I showed Crewe the statute which declares that a marriage contracted without the prescribed consent was "null and void for all purposes whatsoever," and further renders liable all who are parties to it to the penalties of *præmunire*. At first he appeared to think that advantage might be taken of the exception in favour of the daughters of Princesses who had married into foreign families, but this, I pointed out, was dependent on the bridegroom not having become a naturalised Englishman at the date of the

marriage. It was finally settled that the Lord Chancellor should be asked to discuss the point some day next week.

January 29th.—The Lord Chancellor came to the office this afternoon to confer with Lord Crewe on the issue raised by Princess Ena's marriage. Upon looking at the Act, and the papers illustrative of the interpretation hitherto placed on it, which I was able to show him, he had no doubt that the marriage was one of those which the Act contemplated as requiring the consent, and strongly recommended that the usual practice should be followed, whatever the risk, to the extent even of gazetting the sanction, as if that were omitted some inquisitive critic would notice the omission, and it would be very difficult to frame any adequate explanation should the point be raised in the House of Commons. He discussed the whole question with a freedom from prejudice much to the credit of his character and position, entirely unhampered by the "Whig" prepossessions against a Catholic marriage. I told Lord Crewe that I could pretend to a pretty pure Whig ancestry, but did not feel his difficulty in the least degree. In the result he adopted the view of the Lord Chancellor, and wrote to Knollys strongly deprecating any deviation from the established practice.

January 31st.—I had a funny story told me to-day of Arnold-Forster's mental attitude. Fleetwood-Wilson, meeting his personal secretary, asked how he was, and received in reply the information, "Oh, he is very busy, as he is engaged upon an investigation to prove that the Unionist Party has, as a matter of fact, been successful at the polls." It is characteristic of the man that he should ignore the utterly unpractical nature of the conclusions he hopes to establish; nor is it wonderful that so obstinate an ideologue should have proved so hopeless a failure in administration.

February 2nd.—The victors and the vanquished are dribbling in by degrees. The late Prime Minister appeared at luncheon at the Travellers' looking harassed and worn. Lord Lansdowne was sitting with him, and Tweedmouth came in and greeted them with an air of exuberant satisfaction.

February 8th.—The Cabinet Committee on the Education Bill has met two or three times this week in the Lord President's room. They sit round the table in the bow-window, to a large extent in view of my chair. On the last occasion Lord Ripon was present, occupying a seat immediately opposite to me. As far as I could judge, he was talking incessantly, and emphasising his arguments with vehement facial contortions, swaying his body from side to side with an irregular motion which must have been very trying to his colleagues. Lloyd George was on his right, and devoted himself to writing letters; one or two others whose faces were visible looked on with stupefaction. I heard

afterwards that Lord Ripon, having taken the whole time of the Committee in the development of views that were in the main antagonistic to the proposals of his colleagues, concluded with the information that these were his own personal opinions, which, as a matter of fact, it was of no great moment to know, and he had no title to speak for the Catholic Hierarchy, which, after all, was the body about whose demands the Government were somewhat anxious.

February 13th.—We had a dinner last night for Sir Spencer Ponsonby, who bore the weight of his eighty-two years with extraordinary vivacity. Lady Hylton, the Gilmours, Claud Hamilton, Cecily Butler, Herbert Magniac, and Kathleen Farquhar completed the party.

February 16th.—At the Council this morning "Labby" was sworn and comported himself with characteristic effrontery. He came in a cut-away coat, studiously refrained from kissing the Testament in connection with the oath of allegiance, and indulged throughout the ceremony in a series of *sotto voce* remarks which were distinctly audible to me standing on the left of the King. After the ceremony Mr. Edmund Robertson asked to be allowed to keep the Testament on which he was sworn, which I agreed to, as it would not involve a supplementary estimate—a remark which led some of his friends to rally him on such a request having emanated from so rigid an advocate of public economy!

At Lord Crewe's audience before the Council the King told him he was going to leave England at the end of the month, as the doctors insisted on his being away through March, owing to the risk of bronchial trouble. In consequence, all the arrangements of the Lord President's dinner for settling the roll of Sheriffs have to be altered, and the event antedated by five days. It appears His Majesty will be away for five weeks, and probably longer, so I told Crewe afterwards some arrangements ought to be made for holding Councils in his absence. The situation is made more serious by the fact that both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught are out of the kingdom, though the latter may return by the middle of next month.

February 18th.—The crush at Lady Campbell-Bannerman's party in Downing Street was terrific. Fortunately, we were able to descend the staircase before it became absolutely impossible, and reached Lansdowne House by 11.30. There seemed a much more general hilarity in the ranks of the defeated than we had observed in the other place, though, as Kenyon said, there were a large number of the unemployed in evidence. The house was not too full, and the brilliance of the setting gave a life and colour to the assemblage which was conspicuously lacking in Downing Street.

This afternoon we attended the funeral service at Westminster

Abbey in commemoration of the King of Denmark. Rarely have I taken part in so impressive a ceremonial: The appointed hour, four o'clock, gave the solemnity of waning day to the occasion, and the faint lights from the clerestory windows hardly penetrated to the floor of the Abbey, where the darkness was only relieved by the flickering ray of the candles, as it fell upon the black-garbed figures that thronged the stalls of the choir and the transepts. The most effective moment was when, as the congregation dispersed through the dim avenue of the nave, the strains of Chopin's March broke in despairing cadence along the fretted aisles: "the builders' and the musicians' art melted into one, tier after tier of carven imagery, wave after wave of mystic sound."

February 24th.—At Lady Haversham's party last night the new Ministry turned up in great strength, the Members of the House of Commons having come on from the Speaker's dinner, and Mr. John Burns was resplendent in the glory of his new uniform. He greeted me with much cordiality, and then proceeded to beg my pardon for not giving me my right title. "Sir Almeric, is it not?" he said. "No, Mr. Burns," I replied, "I preserve the style of republican simplicity." I had been told in the afternoon that Haldane, on informing a member of the Army Council that he had a virgin mind on the subject under discussion, was greeted with the exclamation, "At any rate, that is better than Arnold-Forster's immaculate conceptions!" but it appears that the story had no foundation in fact. Indeed, as Haldane agreed, there was no member of the Army Council with wit enough to say it, not even Neville Lyttelton, to whom it had been attributed. Lord Crewe presented me to his daughter, Lady Cynthia, who is a charming and clever girl with obvious hints of her Graham descent.

February 25th.—The dinner of the Stage Society was held this evening, Desart, at my request, taking the chair. Lady Hylton, Herbert Magniac, and the Verneys dined with me. The speech of the evening was made by Miss Gertrude Kingston, who responded for the actors in terms of great tact, sympathy, and intelligence, and with considerable force of delivery and phrase. Desart, no inconsiderable amateur in his day, was not in very good voice, but his speech was a thoughtful piece of criticism, not unmixed with elements of genuine humour. Mr. Lyall Swete, an actor with a Dantonesque head and voice, made an effective contribution to our entertainment in proposing the critics.

February 26th.—I was in the House of Lords this afternoon when Milner opened the case against the Government's treatment of South Africa. He concentrated the strength of his argument on the constitutional problem, and indicated from his point of

view what he regarded to be the grave risk the Cabinet was running in resolving to give responsible government to both colonies. His speech was on the whole impressive, though now and again perhaps touched with too great bitterness, arising at the recollection of the criticism and censure of which he had been the object. The effect of his delivery was hampered by a too close adherence to the terms of a typewritten MS., which he consulted frequently, and at times failed to pick up at the place he intended. His manner, however, was pleasing, and there was a measure of dignity in his phrasing which enhanced the weight of the argument. Elgin's reply, for which I could not wait, opened well.

As the Lord President's dinner, in connection with the pricking of the Sheriffs, followed the adjournment, I was able to gather the views of the Cabinet at first hand when Milner's speech was still ringing in their ears ; and I was struck with the small amount of effect that it had produced except as an irritant. Elgin was sitting next but one to me, Fowler between us, and the Lord Chancellor just opposite, so I could not have been in a better position for ascertaining the sentiments of the Government. Both the Lord Chancellor and Elgin regretted Milner's allusions to his opponents as Pro-Boers and the tendency he showed to link the present controversy with circumstances that had their origin in the war, or even preceded it. They resented his animus, and believed it would yet bear bitter fruit. Fowler, in his most oracular vein, said he discovered in the speech a clue to the real causes of the war—an observation which much impressed Carrington.

At the King's dinner last Saturday His Majesty complimented John Burns on the excellent fit of his uniform, and talked to him for some time. Birrell took the opportunity of pulling his right honourable colleague's leg by professing some nervousness as to his own conversation with the King, and asked John Burns how he should tackle him. " Give him his head, give him his head," was the reply.

February 27th.—Council at Buckingham Palace for pricking the Sheriffs. An order was also submitted providing for the holding of Councils in the King's absence. His Majesty would not hear of any member of the Royal Family being empowered to do so, except the Prince of Wales, and, as he was out of the question, approved a Commission, appointing the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, and the Lord President to act as circumstances required, subject to the consent of the King under the sign-manual when the occasion arose.

His Majesty showed great alertness in pricking the roll, and asked, when he got to the name of Lacock, " Is this the celebrated one ? "

As we returned from the Council Crewe told me the question

of Princess Ena's marriage had been further considered by the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers, in the result of which it had been decided that, as Prince Henry of Battenberg had not taken out Letters of Naturalisation till after his marriage, Princess Ena was undoubtedly one of those descendants of George II who was the daughter of a Princess married into a foreign family, and therefore entitled to the exception under which the consent of the King in Council need not be given to her marriage. The King is much pleased at a way being found out of the difficulty, as it appears he has received hundreds of letters strongly urging him to withhold any official recognition of the marriage by an act of State, such as is involved by the formalities in Council.

Lord Halifax's speech this afternoon on the South African problem produced a very favourable impression ; his earnestness of manner and integrity of purpose gave to what he said the guarantee of sincerity, and the knowledge acquired by a recent visit to the country invested his treatment of the subject with a freshness and candour that were very acceptable to his audience. Portsmouth, who followed, was acrimonious and offensive.

After dinner at the Roberts's we went to a party of Lady Muriel Paget's at which some exhibitions of telepathy were given.

March 7th.—Eighteen members of the Travellers' Club gave a dinner at the Cecil to Lord Sanderson and Sir H. Yorke on their retirement from the Civil Service. Lord Lansdowne, in the chair, was the most prominent among the donors of the dinner, and the others included Count de Lalaing, the Belgian Minister, Cawdor, Desart, Hampden, Claud Hamilton, Hylton, Eric and Bill Barrington, etc. Lord Lansdowne made a most graceful little speech, in which he described, if not the slavery, at least the servile condition under which the Parliamentary Chief acted towards the permanent Head of a public department, and spoke of the pleasure it had given him to own such a taskmaster as Sanderson for five years. The dinner appeared to give everyone great satisfaction, and, though Lord Lansdowne charged me with breach of faith in putting him in the chair, he kindly agreed not to press the point, and there was no question that he was the only man who could have filled it with the same urbanity and charm.

Afterwards I went to a small party at the Beauchamps' to welcome the Ampthills. Lady Ampthill showed the effects of more than five years in India, but the sweet courtesy of her manner had undergone no change, and she bore herself with the same stately grace. Ampthill did not look a day older, but seemed to think noticing it a reflection on the character of the labours he had gone through. I believe everybody agrees he did his work well and behaved with great judgment during the time he was in the seat of government for Curzon.

March 8th.—Chesterton had luncheon with us before giving a lecture in Carlton House Terrace for the P.N.E.U. A strange, unwieldy creature, with a shock of hair, who talks very much as he writes, and is certainly a person of some brilliance. Lady Hylton came to meet him, and encouraged him to talk by exhibiting a lively interest in the development of his views. Energy of statement, combined with an emphatic assurance that there is a best side to things if you can only find it, renders his conversation attractive.

I saw Bernard Shaw at the meeting of the Stage Society's Council later in the day; he spoke very highly of "The Friend in the Garden," a dramatic work from the pen of E. Benson which had just been given at a *matinée* of the Savoy.

We dined with Herbert Maxwell and met Austen Chamberlain, Percy, "Pom" McDonnell, the Munro Fergusons, and others. It is strange how confident Percy is that the swing of the pendulum will bring Tariff Reform into the region of practical politics after the next election. I am more inclined to think, with McDonnell, that the Liberal Party are in for the term of two Parliaments.

Percy did not appear to have been much impressed by Haldane's statement on introducing the Army Estimates, but from all accounts it seems to have been a far-seeing, comprehensive, and sagacious deliverance on a very difficult subject.

March 18th.—I had a dinner to-night at Willis's for the Ampthills. Arthur Paget, Lady Muriel, the Hyltons, Mrs. Archie Morrison, and W. Barrington were the rest of the party. Lady Ampthill confirmed what I have heard from everyone who has been in India lately, that civil and military opinion were equally unanimous in favour of Curzon throughout the recent controversy. Ampthill has not diminished the stock of seriousness which he brings to bear on the consideration of men and things, and administered a grave rebuke to W. Barrington for talking disrespectfully of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman!

March 20th.—The Lord President moved the second reading of the Poisons Bill. Donoughmore came down with Londonderry in support, with the object of denouncing the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill, but the stomach was taken out of the attack on their learning that Ireland had been included in the draft of the Bill by Londonderry himself at the instance of the Irish Government. Londonderry pressed me several times to admit that he knew nothing about it, but eventually got up and assured the Lords he was responsible for the Bill as it stood, and had given the fullest consideration to the subject. There appeared, however, to be good reasons for omitting Ireland from the purview of the Bill, which will probably be done.

When Haldane paid his visit to Aldershot the other day, one of the War Office motors was provided for his convenience with

a hood and the usual access from behind. To the consternation, however, of all concerned, it proved impossible for the Secretary of State to squeeze through the aperture, and he had to take a seat on the box, exposed to all the fury of the elements. His tour of inspection had in consequence to be very materially curtailed.

March 22nd.—Hylton's Bill for the amendment of the Public Health Act in respect of local by-laws touching the building of cottages in rural districts came on in the House of Lords. Fleetwood-Edwards, with whom I was sitting, told me of an incident in the late Queen's relations with Randolph Churchill during the brief time he was Secretary of State for India. Edwards was peremptorily called down to the garden at Balmoral, where the Queen was transacting business, as was her wont, in the summer-house, and told to open an official box. He did so, and took out a letter from R. C. "Look below," said the Queen severely, when he found a thick layer of tobacco from cigarettes left in the box. The Queen, who hated tobacco, nevertheless laughed heartily when the cause of the accident was pointed out to her.

March 23rd.—Lord Crewe tells me the Government are having great difficulty with the Nonconformists over the Education Bill. In return for their contribution to the ministerial majority, they seem determined to exact their pound of flesh, and make the Bill as crude a triumph for ultra-Nonconformity as the complaint is that the last Act was for the Anglican Episcopate. Lloyd George, who had accepted a compromise, is now pressing his colleagues to make large concessions, and the whole problem is still in the melting-pot. Crewe takes a very sensible view of the imprudence involved in treating this Bill too exclusively from the aspect of party requirements, and it would seem as if the only possible compromise will be on lines which will impose a very serious financial burden on the ratepayers, when it will quickly appear that pockets are even more sensitive than consciences.

March 29th.—The debate on Lord Halifax's resolution recognising the services of Lord Milner attracted a large audience. The terms of the resolution had been settled in consultation with Lord Lansdowne, and I have reason to think they were designed to provoke a rejoinder from the House of Commons in language that might hereafter justify the expungement of the motion from the records of the House; but, however that may be, the immediate result led to an exhibition of great weakness on the Treasury bench. Lord Halifax's speech was marred by long pauses in delivery and some confusion due to the voluminous character of his notes. Ampthill, who followed, was imposing and academical, and did not fail to remind his audience that he was peculiarly qualified to enter into the feelings of Lord Milner from the fact of his having acted for six months as Governor-General of India. Elgin had

little to say, but said it well, though Cawdor, in reply, made it evident that the Government had chosen a difficult line to defend in adopting different tactics in the two Houses, as it was not easy to justify the previous question in reply to a resolution of approval when they had not had recourse to it on a resolution of censure. I was standing by Sir H. Fowler when Cawdor was speaking, when he turned to me and said, "He [Cawdor] does not take account of what may be the worst result of the present motion, namely, a still more violent one in the House of Commons." I did not tell Fowler that might possibly be one of its motives, but I did say, "Surely, Sir Henry, you might have averted the debate altogether if you had moved the previous question in the House of Commons." "Well," he said, "we considered that very anxiously, and we proposed in the House of Commons what we thought the next best thing, for we could not have carried the previous question, and should have been beaten." What a comment, I thought, on the position of a Government with a nominal majority running into hundreds! Fowler went on to denounce Byles in unmeasured language, and admitted they were quite unable to control a large number of their so-called supporters.

On the Archbishop of Canterbury following Cawdor, Lord Knollys asked why he should think it necessary to speak at all. I pointed out that His Grace thinks himself the representative of the national conscience, and therefore under an obligation to intervene in season and out of season.

April 4th.—A Council was held to-day under the King's Commission by the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, and the Lord President. To secure the nearest precedent we must resort to the action of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom on the occasion of George II's last visit to Hanover in 1760. Lords Ripon and Carrington and J. Sinclair were also present. Lord Ripon expressed a fear that I might be involving him in proceedings for which he could be asked to pay the penalty of his head on Tower Hill, but I assured him that every step had been taken upon the responsibility and with the approval of the highest legal authority. Certainly no one could be more scrupulous than the Lord Chancellor in subscribing to the most exacting requirements. The business submitted to the Council had previously been authorised under the sign-manual, and, though the Lord President was answerable for the validity of the list prepared for consideration, Lord Loreburn would not proceed till the original document was produced, and as each item was reached he carefully verified it from the draft which had been before the King.

I dined with the Sidney Webbs; Haldane and Miss Balfour were there, and the conversation took a wide range. Mrs. Webb is certainly one of the most brilliant women I ever heard talk,

and has the advantage of a beautiful voice. Her knowledge of social and economic questions is vast, and her treatment of them rich in ideas. She would solve the difficulty of a diminishing birth-rate by endowing maternity, and would place local administration in the hands of highly paid experts unhampered by traditional local limits, who should have power to co-opt what assistance they required from the leisured class. Herself born and brought up in the narrowest atmosphere of Nonconformity, she has repudiated its chains, and, while perhaps hardly calling herself a Christian, surprised me by confessing that the Catholic Church provided the best *milieu* for the education of the young. Indeed, the absorption of the individual in the organism, characteristic of that great communion, had her highest admiration, and she applauded my remark that, after all, Catholicism came nearest to collectivism in terms of religion.

Haldane adumbrated some of the great ideas by which he hopes to make the Army an integral national interest and give the country part of the moral value of conscription. It is curious that one of the Labour members should have remarked that, after the glamour of his speech in introducing the Estimates was passed, they realised he was advocating voluntary conscription. He is, at any rate, the first to recognise that military problems in this country can only be handled with success as part of the larger considerations affecting the social and economic issues upon which they depend. Thus, the proposal to embody twenty militia battalions during six months in the winter, while it will do much to popularise the force, will have an important effect in relieving the strain of unemployment, and give to a poor section of the population a period during which physical development will be as carefully looked to as military training; while it may hereafter become the basis of an extensive system by which lads from fifteen to eighteen can be secured from waste and taught to develop their physical and moral capacities for the good of the community. With the object of bringing the highest order of intelligence into requisition for military ends, he would like to see the Universities establish a B.Sc. degree in the Science of War, graduates in which should be passed into the Army, given commissions in the Militia, or ear-marked as a reserve of officers in case of national emergency, care being taken that opportunities for practical training should not be overlooked in the case of the latter. I told Mrs. Webb I had incurred the wrath of my Tory friends by saying that I was prepared to run the risk of ten years of Radical Government so long as Haldane could be made secure at the War Office for six, upon which he said, with emphasis, "There are numbers of 'our friends' who would wreck the Government in these years to get me out of it"; and I have no doubt he is well enough informed on the point. Mrs. Webb asked

Miss Balfour if it was not true that her brother's principal reason for resigning before the dissolution was to provide for the inclusion of Haldane and Sir E. Grey in any Government that might be formed. "At any rate," said Haldane, "we should not have been members of it if it had been formed after the dissolution"—a remark which sheds a flood of light on party dynamics.

April 7th.—Last night we dined at Crewe House. I took Lady Cynthia in to dinner and had Mrs. Sydney Buxton on the other side. Robert Cecil, Winston Churchill, George Russell, Grimthorpe, the Jekylls, and others, were present. After dinner I talked with that charming daughter of Carrington's, now Lady Marjorie Wilson. When the ladies left the dining-room I found myself near Winston Churchill, and profited by the occasion to draw him on several topics of interest. His relations with Elgin were a point on which I sought information, as it is commonly alleged that their differences are acute and language not at all respectful to his chief is not infrequently attributed to him. I was therefore agreeably surprised to find him speak of him in terms of the most cordial loyalty and admiration. They did not know each other before they became colleagues, and Winston frankly admitted that Elgin probably had prejudices not altogether in his favour; but nothing, he said, could exceed the confidence and consideration with which he had been treated. We next turned to the topic of the Life of his father, of which I spoke in terms of unmixed praise, and in connection therewith was able to give him some details of the days when I knew Randolph Churchill fairly well. Here we were on ground which touched him very closely, and he showed himself at his best in the warmth of his attachment to his father's memory and the spirit of enthusiasm with which he honoured and applauded his genius. It happened that I was present at the St. George's Hall, Bradford, when R. C. made his last public appearance before his breach with Lord Salisbury, the moment when he may be said to have been at the zenith of his meteoric career, and Winston listened to my impressions of that day with the keenest interest, not to say excitement. It was as a popular orator that Randolph's aptitude came nearest genius—the imaginative instinct that controls and dominates circumstance, and in addressing a great meeting he had the faculty, almost alone among his contemporaries, of drawing inspiration from a vast auditory and transmuting it into golden sentences of impassioned logic.

After dinner we went to a musical party at Lady Agnew's, where Mrs. Swinton made her *début* as a professional singer.

April 25th.—I walked across St. James's Park with Haldane this morning and congratulated him on the firmness and discrimination with which he had handled the "ragging" difficulty

in the Scots Guards. He said he had taken the matter entirely into his own hands, and in the result had met with the cordial co-operation of the soldiers. The King had at first been strongly opposed to an open enquiry, but his opposition ceased when it was represented that with closed doors the halfpenny press would have unlimited opportunity for insinuation and innuendo. Haldane gave the Court a list of the questions he wanted answered, and was careful to put a Guards officer upon it. When it came to the consideration of the sentence, there was some disposition to claim greater leniency than he was prepared to show; but, with the support of regulations issued after the last case so emphatically condemning conduct of the kind, he was able to carry the Council with him in every particular. As he pointed out, under those regulations everyone involved might have been dismissed the Service, so that the punishments actually inflicted were light enough.

We then discussed the situation created by the Education Bill, which, he made no attempt to disguise, represented a complete surrender to Nonconformist demands, and assured me they had been warned by their Whips that any other course would result in defeat at the hands of their own supporters. He deplored the indifference of his colleagues to any aspect of the educational problem outside the miserable limits of sectarian controversy, and particularly their lukewarmness towards those aspects of higher education in which he was interested. I observed that, as a matter of fact, he had enjoyed much greater influence in educational matters with the late Government than he did with their successors, upon which he said, "My dear FitzRoy, you state no more than the exact truth."

April 27th.—The imprudence of the Government in restoring the Lord President's salary, without leaving the Secretaryship of the Board of Education unfilled, produced its natural result in a storm of criticism when the Privy Council Office vote came on last night. It was reached unexpectedly, as the revenue votes, which it was believed would occupy most of the evening, were passed *sub silentio*, and the Lord President became the subject of a prolonged wrangle. McKenna, the Secretary of the Treasury, did not know his case, and made the egregious blunder of defending the vote on the score of the work the Lord President was to do on behalf of the Board of Education, on whose vote there was already two Ministers' salaries charged, and a combination of Unionists, Labour, and Irish (the latter only too keen to go for Lord Rosebery's son-in-law) brought the ministerial majority below 100 for the first time.

May 10th.—After four days' debate the Education Bill has been read a second time by a majority of 206, some thirty less than that by which the Act of 1902 was passed at the same stage.

While no clear indication was given of the directions in which amendments would be accepted, the general declaration of Ministers was in favour of compromise, and, but for the bad effect of some acrimonious passages in Lloyd George's speech, the general result of the discussion has been to promote a pacific feeling. Haldane's assurance that the Government would be resigned, if not cordial, towards changes suggested in the Upper House in the interests of denominationalism, is confirmed by all that I hear, and the sincerity and emotion with which its cause has been defended have not been without a very considerable influence.

We had the first Council after the King's return this morning. Lords Crewe, Althorp, and Ribblesdale, and L. Harcourt. The King was looking well, but avoided standing as much as possible. He appeared in good spirits, and was very pleasant.

There was some little debate in the House of Lords on the report stage of the Poisons and Pharmacy Bill, Lord Ebury carrying an amendment in opposition to Crewe's proposals for placing company trading under restrictions as regards the assumption of the title of chemist. Londonderry acted very honourably in asking me whether I thought he ought to vote against Crewe having regard to his responsibility for the Bill. I said, of course, the Bill had been altered in this particular since its introduction, but I thought it was quite likely that if he had been in charge of it he would have been prepared to go as far to meet the wishes of the Pharmaceutical Society, and accordingly he refrained from voting. Lawrence afterwards got the House to reinsert the clause extending the Bill to Ireland, and Donoughmore, who opposed it strongly, was rather taken aback by Mayo getting up and denouncing him as a traitor to the agricultural interests of Ireland.

May 16*th.*—We dined last night at the Harcourts', where two minor Ministers were enjoying opportunities of social education. I had the care of Mrs. Ian Malcolm, Mrs. Langtry's daughter, who has much of her mother's beauty, with a disposition that will lead her along quieter paths. The dinner was in every sense admirable, and both host and hostess active in the discharge of their duties. Harcourt has a most interesting collection of waxes, the statuettes having all the superficial beauty of old ivory; others, like cameos in mezzo-relievo, were most perfect in the delineation of feature and accessories, a contemporary representation of Louis XIV being among the best.

May 18*th.*—I dined at Lincoln's Inn with the College of Surgeons, among whose guests was Nansen, the Norwegian Minister, a fine type of heroic Norseman; Sir George White, Sir Edward Fry, and Cozens-Hardy, L.J. The food and wine were alike excellent, far transcending anything one usually meets with when

public bodies are the entertainers. The medal of the College was afterwards given to Sir H. Charles, who accompanied the Prince of Wales to India in a medical capacity, and presented the College on his return with a collection of skulls invaluable for the purposes of ethnological research.

May 27th.—I saw Camperdown this afternoon, who asked me whether I thought the House of Lords did right in rejecting the so-called Aliens Bill the other day, as it has given him a good deal of anxious thought. I told him frankly I thought it had been a tactical error, which had saved the Government from a very awkward predicament. My plan would have been to have moved the adjournment of the debate, which would have forced the Government into the open by presenting to them the alternative of assuming responsibility for the Bill or of offending the Labour Party by repudiating it. By the course followed the Government was able to make the Opposition the lightning-conductor of the Labour Party's wrath. By insisting on the debate being adjourned from time to time till the Government had made up its mind what to do they would have exposed its vacillation and enforced the proper doctrine of ministerial obligation towards the promotion of a Private Member's Bill: he was much impressed, and told me he would cherish the suggestion for future use.

May 29th.—We had a Council this morning at which Lords Ripon, Crewe, Beauchamp, and Burghclere were present. The King was not looking well. He had got an impression that Harcourt was coming, and was rather annoyed that he did not turn up. However, he was easily pacified by his being sent for. Knollys, whom I saw afterwards, could not understand how the idea had got into his head, though he admitted he had not told the King, as usual, who was coming.

June 1st–8th.—I spent Whitsuntide at Bruges with the Butlers, and saw a great deal of Cecily, as both in and out of the old city we were constant companions. Her spirit seems attuned to life there, that type of existence where the past, by sheer force of its memorials, is more vital than the present hour, and all restless activities and momentary perturbations are hushed before the slow evolution of centuries. The genius of these old towers records their unavailing protest against the gospel of change, but while they stand, the tired human heart may seek a refuge from universal unrest within the shadow of the verities they symbolise, and so it may well be that human doubts and anxieties have found a fixed point wherein the germs of a new confidence may be generated and whence the blossoms of a new hope may emerge.

We spent one afternoon at the old Dutch frontier town of Sluys, from the ramparts of which the eye ranges over meadows once overrun with the waters where Edward III destroyed the French fleet, with a loss of 30,000 Frenchmen; and another day

we gave to Furnes, a town in the south of Flanders, which is conspicuous for traces of the Spanish occupation. The Palais de Justice contains several rooms hung with magnificent Spanish leather, the sumptuous yet subdued splendour of which renders it an ideal decorative material for the treatment of walls wherein the stern judgments of the Holy Office were announced.

The market-place is remarkable for the beauty with which the principal buildings that surround it are grouped so as to give to the *coup d'œil* the utmost measure of balance and harmony.

June 23rd.—I spent the afternoon at Osterley, and stayed to dinner. The Burghcleres, Saltouns, Sir F. and Lady Lugard, Lady Crawford, a French Monsignore, Clarke, the Consul-General at Buda-Pesth, and Colonel Fairholme, late in command of the British contingent of the Macedonian Constabulary, were the party, in addition to members of the family. The Monsignore was in charge of an Anglican priest and his wife, which was accounted for by the facts that he has been the most energetic advocate in the Roman Curia for the recognition of Anglican Orders, and that the lady has translated into English a work of the Monsignore's on the First Centuries of the Church, which is a textbook in the theological colleges of the Church of England. Lugard looked worn and ill. Empire-building on the Niger is no light task; perpetual tension in an unhealthy climate wears down the strongest, and it is only for a few months that a man can put in his best work. Lugard spoke very highly of Oliver Howard, but condemned him for going out. Different motives, however, are given for that step.

June 30th.—I dined last night with the Home Secretary in celebration of the King's birthday, and sat between two Chancery Judges, Warrington and Joyce. I liked the first-named particularly, a cultivated man who has travelled much and gives one the impression of a clear and just thinker. I did not go to the Foreign Office, where His Majesty's Ministers entertained 6,000 people. In order to obviate the risks attending the collection of so vast a horde within four walls, the guests were subjected to the same discipline as a crowd in the streets, and moved in one direction to the cry of "Pass along, please." Fortunately, it was fine, or the ingress and egress would have most certainly become blocked; as it was, a good many people were able to get on to Devonshire House, where it was very pleasant. Mrs. Adeane told me she and her father had a very curious adventure on the way to Ascot. Their motor broke down about four miles this side of Staines, and they were planted by the side of the road, when a Vanguard 'bus, which had been hired for the day by a party of fish-dealers and publicans from the East End, took them on board. A liberal indulgence in drink was going on, and offers of hospitality from "Scotch" down to port, and even claret, were

pressed upon them. One bibulous dame took to talking politics, and, after looking Mr. Percy Wyndham up and down, exclaimed, "Anybody can see you're a Tory!" Upon which he, anxious to put himself right with his hosts, and perhaps feeling the necessity of a hostage for their good behaviour, pointed to his daughter and said, "She is a Liberal." The announcement gave very general satisfaction, but it subjected Mrs. Adeane to a renewal of hospitable intention, which rendered their arrival at Ascot a relief from pressing embarrassments. The Duke seemed in very good spirits, and joined us at supper with the remark, "It is time to refresh." His interest in Physical Deterioration is unabated, and I was able to give him satisfactory information upon the way in which the Local Government Board are working at several of the problems we discussed, notably infant mortality. It is a tribute to the soundness of his judgment on vital issues that he has all through been impressed with the tremendous importance of the question, and has taken serious trouble to focus public attention on certain of its aspects.

At the Council to-day the new Privy Councillors were sworn in. L.J. Farwell, from whom I had expected better things, led the way and made a mess of it, throwing to the winds all the instructions he had received, and apparently losing his head completely. I had a short audience of the King afterwards, and showed him the instructions which I had circulated, with which he expressed himself thoroughly satisfied: "But they lose their heads," he said, adding, "it is very amusing." I could conscientiously encourage the idea that it is admission to his presence that so disturbs and confounds men of the highest capacity in different walks of life.

In the afternoon we motored down through Richmond Park to Thames Ditton, where the Guy Campbells had an afternoon party.

July 6th.—A few days ago Mr. Chamberlain gave a dinner for the purpose of introducing his friends to Austen's *fiancée*: the Lansdownes were there and most of the Tariff Reform Dukes. J. C. took the opportunity to deliver a lecture on the limits of the Peers' interference with the wishes of the House of Commons, which was heard with rapt attention. He confessed that no one in time past had used stronger language than he about the House of Lords, and he did not wish to withdraw a single word of that indictment, at which they all winced; but one thing he had learnt, that with common prudence their position was impregnable: an announcement that produced a great sensation of relief. The significance of the whole thing does not seem to have struck anyone.

July 10th.—I have been instrumental in correcting Mr. Lloyd George, which has given me some pleasure. In answering a sup-

plementary question in the House of Commons, he hazarded the *obiter dictum*, in reference to a suggestion to apply the Merchant Shipping Act to the Channel Islands, that the British Parliament had no right to legislate for them : a statement which was dangerous in itself and ran counter to the whole history of our relations with them. I called the Lord President's attention to the matter, who asked me to write a Memo. on the subject for the Prime Minister's information, and this morning we had returned to us a reply in the shape of an opinion of the Law Officers, putting even more strongly than I had ventured to do the indefeasible right of Parliament to enforce such laws as it chooses in the Channel Islands.

We had a very pleasant dinner last night at the Bathursts : the Clintons, Newtons, Rothschilds, and others were there. Poor old Lord Glencsk looked very ill, and it was touching to see the anxious solicitude of his daughter on his behalf.

July 13*th*.—Haldane's exposition of policy has met with but qualified success. Its details were too full and the delivery too rapid to produce immediate effect, while the boldness of its conception and the fearlessness with which he has applied principles, which have yet to win general acceptance, challenge criticism. Still, it is the first effort to review the whole field of possible activity and to invest change with a logical relation to requirements, that have been thought out by patient investigation with the deliberate intention to connect military organisation with the life and interest of the people.

I found myself at luncheon next Sir Ernest Satow, who has just returned from Pekin after eighteen years in the Far East. He believes in the reality of the movement in China to borrow such portions of Western civilisation as may be easily assimilated with her own independent lines of development. He scouted the notion that her disorganised resources were likely to be placed at the disposal of Japan : on the contrary, the victories which have added so much to Japanese prestige in the rest of the world appear to have left Chinese opinion unaffected. Far from feeling any gratitude to Japan for having turned Russia out of Manchuria, the Chinese, he assured us, felt nothing but resentment at her presumption in having fought with Russia in what they regard as their own back garden.

Sir Ernest passed through Tokio on his way home, and gleaned much evidence of the good effect produced by the recent Garter Mission. The Emperor told him he had been greatly pleased with Prince Arthur of Connaught, and Redesdale's presence in his *suite* had given the greatest satisfaction to his many friends in Japan.

July 21*st*.—Remarkable signs are forthcoming from many quarters of the general adhesion now given to the principles laid

down in the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee. John Burns is using all the powers of the Local Government Board to bring its recommendations to bear on the problem of infant mortality. The Select Committee of the House of Commons charged with the consideration of the Feeding of School-children Bills have issued a report quoting my leading paragraph and advising that the Bills should be so amended as to embody its principles; while a few nights ago the House of Commons unanimously compelled Birrell to accept an amendment making the medical inspection of school-children compulsory. The most remarkable speech in support of the proposal came from Mr. Balfour, who, in a philosophic argument of great breadth and insight, went a step further in our direction and advocated such inspection as the proper basis for an anthropometric survey, the very thing which, when the Duke of Devonshire pressed it upon the attention of the Government of which he was the head, Londonderry was put up to decry and belittle with a dilute of ineffective criticism. What force of irony is veiled behind the sardonic lips of Time!

July 27th.—We received this morning from the Colonial Office the draft Order in Council providing for the preparation of the electoral roll for the purposes of the new Transvaal constitution on the basis of a six months' residential manhood suffrage. The summonses for to-morrow's Council had not been issued with a view to the transaction of important colonial business, but I explained to Crewe that, in writing to Lord Knollys, I should have to call attention to the character of this Order, and suggested the expediency of my ascertaining from Elgin whether the King had been informed of its contents, and whether he would be ready, if necessary, to attend the Council. My letter was hardly in Knollys's hands before he rang me up on the telephone to say that the King would certainly wish Elgin to be present, as he had had no information at all on the subject, and further would require a memorandum explaining the object and policy of the draft Order to be laid before him as speedily as possible. This was quite as I expected, but the singular part of the business was the apparent belief of the Colonial Office that the King would permit a thing of the kind to be smuggled through without note or comment.

July 28th.—The prudence of summoning Elgin to the Council was amply vindicated, as the King kept him in close conversation for half an hour after it was over. We walked back to Whitehall together, when he told me that when Campbell-Bannerman made his first announcement about Chinese labour at the Albert Hall the King had been very much annoyed, and had given him a wigging for not having intimated what was in contemplation, which made *his* reticence over the draft Order in Council all the more

inexplicable. Departments forget that it is often through these instruments that the act of the Sovereign comes into contact with the State machine, and when it claims to exercise itself in the guise of an intelligence that gives conscious momentum to the mechanism it is only common sense to see that no material is withheld which is required to illuminate judgment and shape purpose. The Duke of Manchester and Lords Liverpool and Carrington were also present, and Sir Ernest Satow attended to be sworn.

August 1st.—The debate on the Education Bill began in the House of Lords. Crewe opened with a well-reasoned and gracefully expressed argument, which suffered from the monotony of his delivery, and was followed by Londonderry, who succeeded in giving the House a coherent and at times not ineffective criticism of the principal provisions of the measure. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributed a very striking speech, taking a high and statesmanlike line, which produced a great impression. It was certainly the best appearance he has ever made in the character of his office.

Redesdale and Fleetwood-Edwards dined with me at the Travellers' to meet Sir Ernest Satow. The first was an old friend, who took great pleasure in seeing him again. We found Satow anxious to avail himself of his privilege, as a Privy Councillor, to hear a debate from the steps of the Throne, and accordingly Redesdale and I walked down to the House with him, when Redesdale remarked on what they might have said forty years ago in Japan if somebody had told them that the day would come when they would go down to the House of Lords together, one as a Peer and the other as a Privy Councillor. Unfortunately the remainder of the debate was only noticeable for an elaborate peroration from Carrington which thoroughly aroused the House.

The speeches of the evening came from the Duke of Devonshire, Cawdor, and Lord Robertson. The Duke's was the first, and came as a surprise to the Government by the weight and incisiveness of his attack. I had been talking to him on the subject two nights before, and confess I was hardly prepared for the vigour with which he developed his arguments in favour of religious instruction and the force of conviction with which he proved that the Bill contained no securities for its permanence or effectiveness. Cawdor delivered a very animated criticism in detail to the same end, and vindicated his claim to be among the best debaters in the House; and Robertson, in that stately style to which he has accustomed the House, stripped the Bill of every pretension to fairness or finality. The effect of these two last speeches was enhanced by Ribblesdale's intervention between them; he carefully avoided coming to close quarters with the critics of the Bill, upon the provisions of which he was

carefully mute, and contented himself with aiming at a kind of flippant agnosticism, and not successfully.

August 3*rd.*—I saw the Duke of Devonshire at luncheon and congratulated him on the success of his speech. With his usual modesty he said he was very glad it was over, as he was afraid he would never get through it, and on my remark that it came as a surprise to the Government, he observed " Yes, they expected me to bless them." He was evidently very pleased with the result of his effort and the extent to which it had brought him into line with the sentiment on his own side of the House.

August 21*st*–28*th.*—After twelve days at Shaw Dean, a small house at the edge of the Berkshire Downs, two miles outside Newbury, which we had taken for a couple of months, I spent this week at Ammerdown. No language is required to affirm the tranquil charm which such days renew upon me from year to year ; no memories so rich and illuminating.

September 1*st.*—I came to London for Lady Mary Farquhar's funeral at Bookham. Her death at the great age of ninety-two removes a notable link with the past, her maternal grandfather, the Lord Gower of the later half of eighteenth-century history, having been born in 1721. I travelled down with Dr. Sheppard, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, who had some interesting stories to tell connected with the Duke of Cambridge, whose *vie intime* he is preparing for the press. It appears that, from his earliest days, the Duke was in the habit of keeping a diary, in which he recorded his opinions with characteristic vigour and outspokenness. Of course a very limited use can be made of these diaries for the purposes of publication, but they remain, as a bedrock of fact and feeling, very useful to the memoir writer. Sheppard was very anxious to verify the time and place of the Duke's marriage, which he had always understood, from the old Duchess of Cambridge, took place on the eve of his departure for the Crimea, but he had never been able to trace it, when one day in a train he overheard some men talking of the Duke ; he interrupted them with the remark that he was intimately associated with events in the Duke's life, and they might therefore perhaps think it as well to be cautious in what they said. One of them thanked him and replied that they looked upon the Duke as a public character about whom they might talk as they liked, but in fact they were discussing the subject of his marriage ; upon which Sheppard told them of his anxiety to obtain information about it. " Oh," said one of the men, " I can tell you where it took place, as I have seen the register at St. John's, Clerkenwell." Sheppard accordingly paid a visit to the church, and there, sure enough, was an entry purporting to be the register of the Duke's marriage ; but the date given was 1847, and he noted with surprise that the Duke's signature was entered as George Cambridge. A few days

after he acquainted the King with what he had seen, who expressed a strong desire to look at the register. Sheppard obtained it from the Vicar and submitted it to His Majesty, who, with that extraordinary precision he has in matters of personal detail, at once exclaimed, "There are three errors in this. In the first place, the Duke never signed himself as George Cambridge—one was his name and the other his title; and, in the second place, he never was at Dartford in his life; and thirdly, his father's names are given inaccurately." Whether these inaccuracies, taken with a date so much at variance with the Duchess of Cambridge's statement on the subject, suggest that the register is a bogus one, Sheppard cannot determine; but the discovery, though very interesting, has not given him the light he expected.

The Duke's affection for his mother was one of his salient characteristics, and Sheppard's attention to her during her last illness won the Duke's warmest gratitude. When Mrs. FitzGeorge lay under sentence of death from ossification of the nerve of the stomach, which caused her great pain, the Duke insisted upon Sheppard's coming to see her, and one day took him to Queen Street, Mayfair, for the purpose of introducing him. On their arrival Sheppard made as if he would stay in the hall till the lady had been prepared for his visit. "What the devil are you stopping there for?" said the Duke. "Come up with me." They proceeded upstairs and were ushered into a room opening into the bedroom where the patient lay. The Duke passed through the door and told Mrs. FitzGeorge that he had brought the Sub-Dean to see her, of whose kindness to his mother he had often spoken, upon which, to Sheppard's consternation, he heard her say with emphasis, "Indeed he is the last person I wish to see!" and, on his being introduced, she turned her head away and refused to speak. After a long pause of much embarrassment to all, Sheppard made a courteous effort to take leave, upon which the lady relented and said, "Mr. Sheppard, you have shown me more courtesy than I have you, and I hope you will come again." Which he did, seeing her constantly for the few months that preceded her death.

October 19th.—I met the Speaker this morning, who commented on the state of the Conservative Party, which, according to his belief, had entirely withdrawn its confidence from Mr. Balfour, yet had nowhere to look for anyone to take his place. He confirmed the worst report of Chamberlain's health, and made it plain that something in the nature of a stroke had occurred. His late train-bearer, French, was a great friend of Chamberlain's valet, who told him in July that he had found Mr. Chamberlain one morning speechless in his bath. The persistent contradictions that have been given to such reports arise, he added, from the desire to keep from Mr. Chamberlain, who reads all the papers, how bad his case really is.

October 19*th*–21*st*.—We had two pleasant days at Madresfield, where I had not been for ten years, and noted many changes. Host and hostess vie with each other in efforts to make their guests feel at home, and it would be difficult to find a woman with more natural and spontaneous gifts in that direction than Lady Beauchamp. Her simplicity and directness of manner are beyond all praise; goodness seems native in her—*Anima naturaliter Christiana*. The other members of the party were Lady Kenmare, Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, Sir F. Mowatt, Algy Peel, and the Gilstraps. I had some interesting talks with Mowatt, whose relations with both Sir W. Harcourt and Lord Rosebery have been most intimate, and he was able to throw considerable light on various obscure passages in their intercourse. Though one was the nominal lieutenant of the other, Harcourt of course enjoyed almost absolute power in the House of Commons, and nothing caused him so much mortification as Lord Rosebery's habit of assuming undivided and unchallengeable authority at meetings of the Cabinet. His annoyance, which he had then to repress, broke out in savage sarcasms on his chief and great bitterness towards some of his colleagues, of whom none seems to have been so obnoxious to him as Sir H. Fowler, then Secretary of State for India. On one occasion certain members of the Cabinet met in Mowatt's presence to arrange the terms of an Indian contribution to the Treasury for naval defence, which had been the subject of much controversy, and, after an acrimonious discussion in which Harcourt and Fowler were protagonists, the heads of an arrangement were reached, and Harcourt suggested that Fowler should then and there subscribe to it. Fowler, however, demurred and said he must consult his Council, and, on Harcourt dropping some scornful gibe, proceeded somewhat pedantically to remind him that by the patent of his appointment he was Secretary of State in Council. Harcourt looked at him with withering contempt and snapped out, "Fowler, you are not fit to be a Minister of the Crown at all!" a rebuke which was taken with lamblike submissiveness.

It was after the disruption of the Rosebery Cabinet that a pamphlet appeared under the title "The Earl and the Commoner," which was bought up as soon as it came out and hardly any copies got into circulation. In this brochure someone who was exceedingly well informed, and disposed to make unsparing use of his information, described the most intimate communications that had passed between Harcourt and Lord Rosebery, it being clear, from the character of the letters quoted, that the writer had enjoyed direct access to the original documents. There were only four men who were known to have been privy to their contents and the circumstances attending them: Mowatt himself, Eddy Hamilton, Esher, and George Russell; and they one

and all expressed stupefaction at the revelations, obviously designed as they were to do as much damage as possible to both parties. They hastily met, and all four repaired to Lord Rosebery in order to assure him that, incredible as it might seem, none of them were guilty of having betrayed his confidence. Lord Rosebery accepted their assurances with engaging frankness, but agreed with them in finding it impossible to conjecture who else possessed the knowledge of which the pamphleteer had made such outspoken use. So ended the incident, and to this day Mowatt has never come nearer an elucidation of the mystery.

October 22nd.—I had to return to London last night, as the King had fixed this morning for a council. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Lords Crewe, Ripon, Althorp, and Suffield attended. The King was well, and in the best of spirits, and received the Prime Minister very kindly. Sir Henry looked flushed and nervous, as if his recent loss was still very present to his mind. There was a heavy list of business, which took some time to despatch.

October 26th–29th.—Three nights, including a day's shooting, at Heron Court. The house is charmingly situated among woods and watercourses, but its best features have been obliterated by stucco restorations. It contains some good pictures and other things of interest, mainly connected with the career of the eminent diplomatist who became Lord Malmesbury.

The party included Mr. Edmund Gosse, who maintained a scrupulous reticence on literary subjects, while overflowing with miscellaneous gossip.

November 8th.—The House of Lords, in dealing with the Education Bill, have not shown discretion. There has been no subordination of the amendments to any definite and coherent plan; there has not even been any effectual effort towards their mutual correlation, so that they often contain provisions that are self-contradictory and in some cases obviously fatal to the intentions of their authors. Instead of concentrating their essays upon a few salient points and leaving the direction in competent hands, each one has obeyed his own prompting to take a share in the work, and, once at it, no effort of concentrated authority has been able to evolve order out of chaos. Lord Lansdowne is of course in a very difficult position as Whig leader of Tory peers at a crisis affecting the Church's control of education, and his natural loyalty to the obligations incurred, combined with his exquisite urbanity, have doubtless hampered his freedom in dealing with some features of the situation. He complains, I understand, that he never had such a team to drive, and it is easy to see the embarrassment which is caused here by the fervid ecclesiasticism of Salisbury and the voluble vagueness of Londonderry. He has, in fact, no one of considerable political standing on whom to rely except Lord St. Aldwyn, and yet there is unfortunately no evidence of

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any concerted action between them. Lord Crewe, on the other hand, has made up for the weakness of his battalions by the tact, knowledge, courtesy, and courage which he has displayed, with very little support from his front Bench, and in the absence of the Lord Chancellor he has conducted the Bill for eight days through Committee without exposing himself to any serious argumentative discomfiture, and has treated interruptions, not always conspicuous for suavity, with uniform patience and consideration. The Archbishop has shown, under a mask of strength, his lack of control in not seeing to it that no independent action of any particular Bishop should imperil the character of moderation which he has claimed for the objects of the Bench; his support of the Bishop of Oxford was an example. The greatness of the blunder was shown by the fact that the Archbishop of York and several other Bishops went into the Government lobby. I saw Jersey the day after this vote, and was glad to find he entirely agreed with me as to its mischievous character; but he had been too soft-hearted to vote against his Bishop.

November 10*th*.—At the Guildhall last night the proceedings were flat, stale, and unprofitable. Haldane's speech on the Army and the problems of defence was too obviously a *macédoine* of irreproachable maxims, and Lord Ripon, after the first sentence, subsided into a muffled inarticulation. The ministerial ladies were confined to Lady Carrington, Mrs. Sydney Buxton, and Mrs. Herbert Gladstone.

As I came out I met Asquith, who told me he wanted to yield to Eddy Hamilton's representations and let off Sir R. Tyrwhitt-Wilson from serving as High Sheriff. When we went through the list, a few days ago, he agreed that if he was let off we could hardly ask anyone to serve; but at the first appearance of social pressure this stalwart is ready to surrender. We were not accustomed to such flaccidity from Lord St. Aldwyn, who would have taken pleasure in resisting the highest influence.

November 12*th*.—The nomination of Sheriffs took place at the Royal Courts of Justice under Asquith's presidency. Sir H. Fowler was the only other Minister present. Mrs. Asquith showed her interest in the proceedings by appearing in the gallery, but otherwise there was no departure from the usual routine.

On reaching the office, I found Camperdown in the Hall, who came up to my room to show me an amendment to the Education Bill, a copy of which he was leaving with the Lord President. We discussed the action of the House of Lords at some length, and in answer to my criticism of the course pursued by the front Opposition Bench, he told me a curious story in illustration of Lord Lansdowne's difficulties. On the day on which a certain amendment was to be moved by the Archbishop, Camperdown, on entering the lobby, found the Duke of Devon-

shire, who looked at him in that peculiar way of his, as if half inviting, half forbidding communication, whereupon Camperdown said he intended to vote against the amendment, and the Duke replied that he intended not only to vote against it, but to speak against it. Having thus spoken, he passed on into the House, and before Camperdown had taken off his coat Lord Lansdowne came in, to whom he imparted the Duke's intention. In due course the Duke got up and spoke strongly against the Archbishop's amendment, and was followed by Lord Lansdowne as strongly in its favour. Subsequently Lord St. Aldwyn got up and supported the Duke in an incisive speech. That evening Cawdor was dining with Camperdown, who took the occasion to comment on the lack of concerted action manifested by the front Opposition Bench, upon which Cawdor told him that the subject had been under discussion at a meeting in Lansdowne House, at which both the Duke and Lord St. Aldwyn were present, and Lord Lansdowne had then announced his intention of supporting the Archbishop without eliciting a single syllable of objection on the part of either of them. Of course in their silence he has to make the best of the opinions at his disposal, but the issue is a deplorable jumble from which neither the Opposition nor the House of Lords emerge with advantage.

November 14*th.*—The *déjeuner* at the Guildhall in honour of the King and Queen of Norway was the most crowded affair of the kind I had ever witnessed. The King produced a very favourable impression by the courtesy of his manner and the simple earnestness of his language, from which he allowed his audience to infer a measure of regret for having left his English home for a Scandinavian crown. Moberley Bell was opposite to me at luncheon, full of confidence in the ultimate triumph of "The Times" in its struggle with the publishers. The breath of battle, he assured me, had made him young again, and he certainly looked more vigorous than he has done for years. We walked away together, and I dropped him as near as I could to "The Times" office. He gave me his ticket opening the line of route, with the aid of which I made my way back to Whitehall in the least possible time.

I saw Frank Lascelles at the Travellers', who told me President Roosevelt had described the retiring British Ambassador "of as much use as a Family portrait," a description not without significance to those who know Durand. A good diplomatic story also comes from St. Petersburg. During the recent troubles it was thought necessary that the Third Secretary should sleep in a room adjoining the Chancery. One night, hearing a noise, he called the First Secretary to his aid, and, on entering the room, they saw in an uncertain light a man kneeling on the ground and apparently rifling a despatch-box. They flung themselves

upon the intruder, and, having hurled him into a corner, discovered the Ambassador!

November 16th.—Last night, dining at the Civil Service Dinner, with the Duke of Connaught in the chair, I sat next Milvain, the Judge-Advocate-General.

Lord Sanderson, on returning thanks for his health, told how, in looking over some references to him at the Foreign Office, he had come across a minute from the Head of a department to someone who had drafted a letter for submission to the Under-Secretary in the terms: "There is a sentence on pp. 3 and 4 which ought to be made shorter and more simple in order to pass Tommy's weak digestion."

The Lord President, Beauchamp, and I went down to Windsor this afternoon for a Council, Althorp and Sir D. Probyn being already there. We got down about 5.15 and found a large party of the Household and guests at tea at three round tables. I was next a very pleasant Norwegian lady in attendance on Queen Maud. Her impressions of Windsor were almost overwhelming. She was eloquent on the popularity of the King and Queen in Norway, their taste for a simple life having won them universal goodwill. On my enquiry whether the Akerhuis, the old castle that overlooks the roadstead at Christiania and is identified with some stirring chapters of Norwegian history, would not have made an admirable palace, she said that it was a question of money; but it was hoped, by the time Prince Olaf grew up, it might be possible to install the Royal Family within its walls.

November 24th.—This week saw the conclusion of the Committee stage of the Education Bill in the House of Lords, and public attention is directed to speculation on what may happen when the Bill is considered on Report. Three sets of circumstances have contributed to bring about the present acute crisis in the history of the measure. Of the discord on the front Opposition Bench I have already spoken. The difficulty they found in coping with the amendments was accentuated by the extraordinary weakness of the Chair. No limitation was placed on peers piling amendments upon one another, until nine-tenths of the House were unaware what was before them, and divisions were taken on points that obscured the real issues. The third disadvantage under which the House of Lords has laboured has been the attitude of the Bench of Bishops. Under a cloak of fairness, and with an assumption of reason, to which some dignity of manner has given undue effect, the Archbishop has busied himself with stating in its most extreme form the case of the Church. He has talked too much, and, with conciliation on his lips, the effect of his action has been to encourage, rather than to allay resentment. Not content with speeches, he made the lamentable error of allowing a letter to be published in the newspapers wherein

he vindicated the moderation of his attitude and of the Peers under his guidance. The accuracy of his description was impugned on the floor of the House, when it was explained that the letter was only inaccurate in the sense of being incomplete, an explanation which was described by one who heard it as on all fours with the error of Ananias.

A conversation is reported to have taken place in the division lobby, when Lord Ripon found himself close to the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Hereford. He first told the Archbishop he was very glad to find him in their lobby, and then, turning to the Bishop, said: "We are used to having you with us, though you are not an Archbishop *yet*!"

Lord Hampden died on Thursday evening, such rally as he had made from his attack in the summer leaving him exposed to the return in an acute form of the insidious malady from which he suffered, and he fell into a comatose state a few days ago, which could only have one ending. He was an attractive character, with a good deal more ability than he often cared to display, and won the regard and affection of all who knew him. The last hours of his life were marked by a very mysterious occurrence, which suggests how little, with all our boasted knowledge, we have really travelled in the direction of throwing light upon the profounder aspects of life and death. He had been lying for at least forty-eight hours unconscious, when his eldest son, Tom, who had been sitting in the room for most of the afternoon, seeing no sign of any change, decided to return to his own house for dinner, and Lady Hampden took his place in the chamber of death. Suddenly the veil was lifted upon the clouded mind beside her, and the dying man exclaimed, "How is Tom?" In great surprise, Lady Hampden answered, "Tom is quite well, and has gone home to dinner." "No," was the reply, and then, in tones of great earnestness, he added, "he is in grave danger," relapsing into a state of insensibility from which he did not again emerge. It appeared afterwards that, on his way to Hans Place, his son's cab was in collision with a bicycle, and a bad accident occurred, in which he might easily have suffered serious injury, and that his father's solicitude had for a moment pierced the gathering clouds of dissolution and realised in a way possible to no one else what was happening, just at the very stroke of its occurrence. Of course the theory of coincidence will be invoked to account for—I will not say to explain—the thing, but that is only to appeal to a different order of improbability. Is it not more in harmony with the facts and consonant with the suggestions of the great Surmise, to believe that the soul, as it nears the change which is to strip it of the stained vesture of the flesh, acquires some foretaste of the powers and activities which, under other conditions, are its prerogative?

November 25th.—I have just finished a book that is out of the common by the peculiarity of the method with which the thesis, "The Fellowship of the Centuries," is elaborated; the two principal characters, after several chapters given to the ordinary conditions of twentieth century life, being suddenly translated into the middle of the fourteenth century. The author, Henry Newbolt, well known for his patriotic poetry, has selected for the scene of this transformation, under the name of Gardenleigh, Orchardleigh in Somersetshire. The author disclaims any portraiture, but I would fain believe that a picture of very gracious import was before his mind, whether consciously or not, when he wrote of "a gentle and beautiful lady upon whom the traditions of long descent seemed to lie in soft and stately folds, like ermine on the young shoulders of a queen." Or again: "The secret of her perfect companionship lay in a combination of certainty and unexpectedness; you could always foretell and rely upon her feelings, and the turn of her thought was a continual surprise."

November 29th.—The relations between Lord Robertson and the other members of the Judicial Committee are becoming more strained than ever: he chooses to regard Lords Macnaghten and Davey as in their dotage, which is certainly not the case with the former, though Lord Davey does to some extent justify Robertson in saying, "When Davey is not talking, he is asleep." Always hypersensitive and irascible, Macnaghten recently described him as combining the most striking characteristics of the sensitive plant and of his own national emblem.

December 1st.—In consequence of the urgent demand for the promulgation of the new Transvaal constitution, the King held a Council at Sandringham to-day for the approval of the Letters Patent and other documents connected therewith. Crewe, Elgin, Ribblesdale, and I left by the 9.15 train from St. Pancras, in a very comfortable saloon, which was run as a special from Ely to Wolferton, anticipating the arrival of the ordinary train by forty minutes. We were met by two motors, which took us up to Sandringham in about five minutes, and the Council was held immediately after our arrival, luncheon being early, as the King was to inspect the Norfolk Yeomanry and a Volunteer Regiment in celebration of the Queen's birthday. Her Majesty was not looking a day older than she has done for the last twenty years, and seemed very cheerful. As we were going out afterwards to look at the gardens and stud farm, she warned us we should find it very wet, and offered to lend me some slippers! The interest of the stud farm centred in Persimmon, who was looking magnificent, having filled out so as to obliterate the legginess which was his defect while in training. George Holford accompanied us back to London, which we reached at 6.30.

One curious incident illustrates the multifarious appeals

to which the Crown and those in immediate relation to it are liable in these days. It appeared that the wife of a man under sentence of death in one of the Malay States had that morning telegraphed to the Queen imploring her to obtain the clemency of the Crown in favour of the condemned, and the Queen, having received such an appeal on her birthday, was anxious to avail herself of the presence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to secure some consideration for the case. Probyn gave Elgin the telegram before luncheon, and there the matter might perhaps have ended, had not the King, rather, I think, in a spirit of mischief, brought the question up and prompted the Queen to make a personal appeal, which she did, with such energy that immediately we left the dining-room Elgin felt constrained to telegraph to London for information in arrest of sentence.

December 5th.—The Cabinet did something to contribute to a pacific settlement of the education controversy: the readiness to go through the Lords' amendments *seriatim* when they reach the Commons, may prove the basis of an agreement. It is not a substantial one, it must be admitted, but the violence of the Nonconformists may in the last resort give it a chance of acceptance which at the present moment seems improbable. The real obstacle to conciliation is the belief of certain people that more is to be made in the constituencies by wrecking the Bill.

December 13th.—Proceedings in the House of Commons yesterday tended to obscure the chances of compromise. It had been arranged that Walter Long should wind up the debate for the Opposition, but during Birrell's speech in reply it was seen that Mr. Balfour had taken the position from which he usually addresses the House, and was obviously intending to speak. This he did, in the most defiant tones, and in language which, while throwing the responsibility of failure on the Government, showed that he, at any rate, had nothing to offer which Ministers could accept. His own party were evidently taken by surprise, and, though they responded to his efforts by some perfunctory cheers, I am told that never, even in the failing days of his Ministry, did he encounter so much latent antagonism in the House of Commons. He sat down within a minute or two of the division being called. The Prime Minister turned to Asquith with the words, "For God's sake say something!" The Chancellor of the Exchequer, thereupon, sprang to his legs, and in two sentences indignantly repudiated all responsibility, declaring, with incisive emphasis, that the country would judge to whom it belonged.

December 15th.—Lord Crewe had a protracted conference with the Prime Minister on the Education Bill. The chances of a compromise are for the moment distinctly better. The Duke of Devonshire, the Archbishop, and Lord St. Aldwyn are in favour of concession, and Lord Lansdowne is understood to incline the

same way. It is a pity that, in these circumstances, the House of Commons was not careful to dress its message in forms of studied courtesy, as complaint of its curtness is being freely expressed; but the matter is too important for anything to be risked upon a punctilio.

December 17th.—The arrangement which I have always regarded as indispensable seems at last in sight. Lord Crewe and Birrell, who are immensely impressed by the administrative difficulties awaiting the Board of Education, went to the Cabinet determined to obtain the maximum of concession required to save the Bill. The obstacles have been twofold, one a point of substance, the other of form: the last was removed by negotiation with Lord Lansdowne. The point of substance was the attitude of the Nonconformists, and on this C.-B., with the recollection of 1870 and 1874 in his mind, has not hitherto been disposed to run any risks. Birrell was now able to show that the umbrage to Nonconformists by concessions to save the Bill would be as nothing compared with his position towards a recrudescence of passive resistance, if he was called upon, as he would be, after the recent judicial decision of the House of Lords, to administer the Act of 1902 rigorously. It is believed that Lloyd George, who has in the past done so much to stiffen resistance, felt his embarrassment most acutely, and threw his influence on the side of compromise. However that may be, the result of the Cabinet was to authorise Lord Crewe to make some very important concessions, and, for the first time since the Bill began to be mauled by the Lords, he spoke to me hopefully of the issue before going down to the House.

The scene in that historic chamber, when the curtain rose upon the preliminaries to the announcement he had to make, was worthy of the occasion and the grave interest of State involved.

Lord Lansdowne began with a demonstration and ended with an appeal. The first, which took the form of a protest against the way the Commons had treated the Lords' amendments in sending them back *en bloc*, was necessary as a sop to the uncompromising battalions behind him: it had further some justification from the fact that the form of the message was curt to the verge of menace, which was unfortunate, for the policy of the step was directed towards peace. Nothing could have had a worse effect than a discussion of the Lords' amendments *seriatim*, and, in pursuing the course they did, the Government were actuated by the desire to prevent the renewed outbreak of sectarian violence, which on both sides would have been certain to ensue. However, that could not be stated, and from his point of view Lord Lansdowne had no lack of substance in his complaint.

He was on firmer ground when he came to the appeal, and

his personal invocation of Lord Crewe's assistance in coming to terms, was weighty and effective. Crewe then proceeded to announce the concessions the Government were prepared to make. Those who heard him were much struck by their substantial character, and the news quickly spread that the Government had yielded. George Wyndham, coming in from the House of Commons after Crewe sat down, asked me excitedly whether it was true that they had given way. To me and others who looked at the matter dispassionately, it seemed that they had. Percy, whom I saw in the lobby, thought the Catholics had obtained all they wanted, but doubted whether the Church could be satisfied. The Duke of Grafton, on the other hand, who had been sitting on the cross-benches with Goschen and the Duke of Devonshire, told me they were favourably impressed.

December 19th.—After forty-eight hours spent in negotiation, the curtain rose on a policy of no surrender. The passions of political wreckers were unchained. The Duke of Devonshire declined to share in the conference at Crewe House yesterday, as soon as he became aware of the narrow limits within which Mr. Balfour was willing to allow Lord Lansdowne a discretion, and, as Lord Crewe said subsequently in his speech, a very few minutes sufficed to show that negotiation had only been undertaken in order to give an air of plausibility to the action of irreconcilables.

I saw Crewe immediately after the Cabinet, who told me all was up; and Birrell, whom I met leaving the office a few minutes later, repeated the same thing. It is due to him to say that he took his personal disappointment with imperturbable good-humour. Mr. Balfour, he said, had received an awkward knock over his act, and thought that if the Government Bill got the same treatment, both parties might cry quits and be ready for a permanent compromise.

There is no doubt, from what I am told, what was the obstacle to an arrangement. The meeting at Crewe House placed it beyond the reach of speculation. The Tories are persuaded that the issue will not be the House of Lords *v.* the People, but Church *v.* Chapel, and on that basis they believe it possible to reconstruct the Opposition as an effective force.

The subordination of Lord Lansdowne's riper judgment to these speculations was seen a few hours later, when he rose to move that the House of Lords do insist on their amendments. His usual readiness and self-command had disappeared: with a harassed air and dejected manner, he delivered his message in terms which gave the impression of a mind harnessed by order to a weary and distasteful task. He may have felt that, beyond the fortunes of the Bill immediately concerned, the position of the great Chamber, whose constitutional right it is his peculiar office to defend, was at stake; he must have realised that the

power which should be reserved for a supreme crisis of State was being risked in a party wrangle, was being subordinated to the chances of political calculation; and later, when he listened to the Duke of Devonshire's outspoken declaration in favour of patient and prudent statesmanship, he must have regretted that a sense of loyalty to the directors of Unionist policy had stood in the way of an appeal to the elements of moderation and independence on the benches behind him.

December 21st.—The loss of the Education Bill has one good effect, in removing all obstacles to a prorogation before Christmas, to which end a Council took place this morning. Crewe, Beauchamp, Tweedmouth, and Harcourt attended. Crewe came straight from the Cabinet with a new clause to be added to the King's Speech, which I had to insert while His Majesty was waiting to approve the instrument. In a cramped attitude, with cold fingers and an indifferent pen, I never wrote worse.

A day or two ago I heard from Elgin the sequel to the appeal made to the Queen on her birthday. The condemned man was granted a respite, while enquiry was made, which resulted in establishing the fact that he was a notorious villain. His immediate offence was murdering his mistress. Elgin thought it very good of his wife to intercede for him in such circumstances, but it may have been, as I told him, the mistress was sacrificed to the wrath of the wife, who would naturally wish the murderer leniently treated. At any rate, the facts were sent to the Queen, and she could form her own opinion.

I have now attended 100 Councils. The longer one is in touch with great affairs, the more one is impressed with the profound wisdom of Lord Acton's dictum that the only possible attitude of statesmanship in these times is to "watch with hopefulness the prospect of incalculable change."

December 31st.—The year closes amid doubt and perplexity in the body politic. Never was the lack of leadership in Church and State so deplorably manifest. The religious sentiments of the nation have no means of expression outside the temporisations of Canterbury and the acerbities of the conventicle; while direction in politics aims no higher. The position enjoyed by the Prime Minister, though creditable to his parliamentary influence, derives more security from the depression that affects the activity of his principal rivals. In such a plight, and with no guidance of the national conscience to be found in press or pulpit, art or literature, we may well indeed pray for a "saving health" among nations; but I venture to doubt whether the acrimony of party, the jealousy of class, the self-seeking of individuals, leave room for the existence, much less for the activity, of such a spirit. "Ideals in politics," says Lord Acton, "are never realised, but the pursuit of them determines history."

1907

February 2nd.—Last month was marked by a great lull in political interest, but, with the meeting of Parliament little more than ten days distant, the politicians are again in evidence. Mr. Balfour's speech at Hull has not done much to unify the discordant elements in his party; indeed, confusion and paralysis are invading every branch of its activity, and it is only in silence that there is safety. With the exercise of common prudence Ministers can go as they please, and the chances of any rally in the constituencies round those who destroyed the Education Bill are so remote as to be negligible. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman makes no secret of it that if there had been only the Archbishop of Canterbury to deal with, a compromise could have been arranged; and the House of Lords, in taking its orders from the Tory wirepullers, have not only lost the fairest opportunity for arriving at an educational concordat, but have added immensely to the weight of the attack upon the discharge of their functions as a chamber of revision.

In talking to Crewe of the little effect apparently produced by the Duke of Devonshire's last speech, he paid a strong tribute to his extraordinary sagaciousness, in being the only man to take up and develop the point that there was much in the Bill which, if accepted to-day, was alterable as experience proved harshness or defect in its working, and regretted that he had not familiarised the Lords with this conception at an earlier stage of the debates. As an instance of the Duke's resolve to get to the truth about the Bill, one story is worth recording. Approaching Birrell, who was standing on the steps of the throne, he asked him to explain some section, which Birrell proceeded to do with much care and courtesy. "Umph!" said the Duke, "then it is not the damned nonsense I thought it."

February 7th.—I dined last night with Sir J. Murray Scott in Connaught Place; a party of twenty-two, including Redesdale, Northbrook, Tweedmouth, Claud Hamilton, Arthur Butler, "Pom" Macdonnell, Condie Stephens, Sir J. Fisher, Sir E. Seymour, Lord Sackville, Henry Yorke, Eric Barrington, and others. I never saw a house so full of beautiful things, or where the arrangement of them left so little to be desired. Any enumeration of them would be tedious, but I cannot forbear to mention Houdon's masterpiece, a bust of Sophie Arnould in the character of Gluck's Iphigenia, an impersonation which Adrienne Lecouvreur had already made famous. Never were the genius of the sculptor, of the musician and the actress combined in a single figure to produce such an instant and overwhelming impression. It was the first piece of statuary, so my host told me, in which by a bold innovation the lips are represented as parted, and the effect is

most poignant: the abandonment of sacrifice, the dignity of accepted expiation, the despair of irremediable disaster, are all there, and expressed in lines of spiritualised loveliness. Plastic art could not go further in the moulding a human face to the interpretation of a supreme musical theme. There was another exquisite marble, but on a much smaller scale, in the shape of a statuette of Falconet, representing a recumbent female figure, probably a Bacchante, with the head thrown back and the eyes straining towards a bunch of grapes held in her uplifted hand: it provided a wholly different order of sensation, but the grace and beauty of the composition were perfect. I noticed it while talking to Sir E. Seymour, and it gave a trend to our conversation which elicited from him opinions showing a knowledge of art and sympathy for its manifestations of an order rare in his profession. Fisher also seemed very much interested in what he saw, but it was more with the instinct of the appraiser; drawing my attention to some Louis Seize chairs upholstered in Beauvais tapestry, for which he said £3,000 apiece had been offered, he insisted upon our sitting upon them.

February 11*th.*—At the Council to-day Sandhurst and McKenna were sworn, and the last-named's appointment as President of the Board of Education was ratified. Lords Tweedmouth, Althorp, Crewe, and Reay were present. The King now imparts a good deal of ceremony to the approval of the Speech, requesting the Lord President to read a considerable part of it, instead of the first line that used to satisfy formal requirement; and he is glad of three Cabinet Ministers' attendance.

Neither of the parties in the evening proved particularly inspiring: Lady Portsmouth's was crowded to excess in a house ill adapted for such a function, and the gathering at Lansdowne House struck me as listless and perfunctory: the prevailing sentiment was not inaptly concentrated in a melancholy group formed by the late Prime Minister and the Editor of "The Times."

February 12*th.*—Parliament was opened in an atmosphere of cold and gloom. The King's Speech was not of the kind to arouse either enthusiasm or resentment, the passage on the House of Lords having been studiously designed to avoid offence, and the remainder being much what was expected. Lord Lansdowne's speech, delivered with more freedom than he usually permits himself, was the best in both Houses, and his attitude towards the ministerial programme quite unexceptionable.

February 14*th.*—I dined with Hubert Jerningham at the Ritz, and met the French Ambassador, Madame Langenberg, and Mrs. Lionel Hervey Bathurst. Afterwards we went to see Granier in "Education de Prince." The Lenten obligations of my host and his principal guest were proof against the temptations of a most excellent dinner. Maurice Donnay's play was as shame-

lessly scandalous as could well be conceived, the efforts to remove some of the textual offensiveness having proved a challenge to the player to supply what was omitted by gesture and suggestion; still, the aplomb and verve of the whole performance, its well-knit rendering of every detail, and finally the magnificent acting of Jeanne Granier, made it a striking success.

February 25th.—At Mrs. Baird's yesterday I saw Lord Balfour of Burleigh, who spoke most despondingly of the political situation, though he said he and some others were working quietly and persistently towards a mutual understanding between the two sections of the Unionist Party.

Mrs. Baird had some interesting details to communicate about the Jamaica earthquake, in which her father perished: she had seen Gerald Loder, whose escape was miraculous, as the room in which he was sitting was reduced to an indistinguishable mass of ruins, and its only other occupant was killed outright. Loder said that there was no time for consternation, and all he was sensible of was a conviction of utter helplessness.

An extraordinary incident occurred in connection with Sir J. Fergusson's death. Charles Fergusson [1] was on his way up to London by the night express, when in a most vivid dream he saw his father killed in an earthquake: so strong was the impression that for the greater part of the journey his mind was occupied with revolving the consequences and estimating what he would have to do. On arriving in London, he went down to Windsor, still under the influence of the reflections excited by the dream. The first thing the following morning, he was called to the telephone to hear from his servant the announcement of his father's death. So prepared was he for the communication, that he asked no questions and accepted the news as the obvious confirmation of his own fears. Subsequently Mrs. Baird worked out with her brother, allowing for difference of longitude, the exact time of the dream, which they found to have taken place at the very moment of the disaster.

This afternoon I attended the Memorial Service for Lord Davey at Lincoln's Inn Chapel. The beauty of the music came upon me with surprise: the anthem from Brahms' "Requiem," "Blessed are they that mourn," was given with most exquisite feeling and finish, and as a voluntary the organist offered a beautiful interpretation of the finale of the "Symphonie Pathétique" (Tschaikowsky) and the "Abendlied" of Schumann.

By Lord Davey's death the Bench loses a great Judge whose knowledge of law was only equalled by the profound industry which he brought to its application. Only a few days before his death he wrote a judgment characterised by all his old grasp of legal principles and that laboured exactness which distinguished

[1] Now Governor-General of New Zealand.

all he did. Under a cold and sometimes almost repellent exterior, he carried a warm and gracious heart, and, in spite of the disabling effects of chronic ill-health, always bore himself with patience and courtesy.

February 27th.—Speculation as to how the vacant Lordship of Appeal would be filled up will shortly cease, as I hear that, notwithstanding the temptation to remove the Attorney-General from the House of Commons, where he has not been a success, the Lord Chancellor has used his influence so effectually as to secure the appointment's being determined by legal considerations alone. The Master of the Rolls will become a Lord of Appeal, Cozens-Hardy will succeed him, the vacancy being filled from the Court below.

I am told the Lord Chancellor, in a way that does him infinite credit, explained to Lawson Walton that the present condition of both branches of the Supreme Court made it absolutely essential to create a new Lord of Appeal of judicial experience. The Chancellor's integrity is all the more to be commended that no severe criticism need have been expected if the appointment had been decided by political considerations; Lawson Walton is popular with his profession, and Carson, whom I met at dinner this evening, told me his appointment was universally anticipated.

March 1st.—Lord Crewe's dinner to settle the Roll of Sheriffs took place last night. We sat down fifteen: ten Cabinet Ministers, the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, and three officers of the Privy Council. I sat between Herbert Gladstone and Sinclair. No acute cases of conscience arose, and the business was got through very quickly. After dinner I was able to get Elgin's promise to obtain from the Carnegie Trustees some assistance towards the publication of the colonial matter in the Privy Council Registers, about which I am in communication with the University of Oxford and the U.S.

At the Council this morning an Order was passed authorising the Prince of Wales to hold Councils in the King's absence, and the Sheriffs for England and Wales were pricked. Lord Crewe, Sir H. Fowler, Beauchamp, and Lord Haversham were present. During the operation of pricking His Majesty maintained an unremitting fire of comment upon the names he recognised in the list, and seemed in high good-humour.

March 2nd.—Fleetwood-Wilson gave me some interesting details of his relations with the Duke of Devonshire during the disastrous days of the abandonment of the Soudan and the death of Gordon. He never saw him so utterly broken and dejected as after his return from the House of Commons on the occasion when he announced the decision of the Cabinet to abandon the garrisons. Mr. Gladstone, and those who made it a point of principle to adhere to him, such as Lord Granville, traded on the

Duke's loyalty through all that passed, and realised their expectations at the cost of a mortification of spirit which more than once nearly overwhelmed him. It fell to Wilson, who was at that time both private secretary and resident clerk, to inform his chief of the death of Gordon, which reached the War Office at 4 a.m. He at once proceeded to Devonshire House, but, when he declared his mission, none of the servants would undertake the task. Lord Hartington, as he then was, had only returned from his rubber at the Turf about an hour before, and none dared disturb him. Wilson was shown the door of his room and left to discharge his duty as he could. The room was a small one behind the staircase, with nothing but borrowed light, and on a truckle bed much too small for him, at the end of which his legs protruded, he saw the Secretary of State lying in a heavy slumber. On waking to a comprehension of what was told him, the effort of the sleeper to disentangle his thought and of the Minister to realise the collapse of his colleagues' tardy exertions to redeem their neglect was one of the most painful ever witnessed, particularly as the Duke, by nature and inclination, was indisposed to cast any veil over his deep sense of shame and humiliation.

No wonder that such an experience made his separation from Mr. Gladstone inevitable at the next strain on his conscience and patriotism.

It was during this time that the Duke's secretiveness gave his private secretary a great deal of trouble. On one occasion in particular, he was leaving London for two or three days at a moment when some military crisis in Egypt might make communication with him a matter of urgency. Fleetwood-Wilson had much difficulty in preventing his slipping out of the Office unnoticed, and had charged the messenger to inform him the moment the Duke left his room. Accordingly he overtook him on the staircase and asked for his address. The only reply he obtained to this request, two or three times repeated, was some inarticulate rumblings in the back of his chief's throat which were quite unintelligible. He thereupon charged a messenger to follow in a hansom to whatever terminus the Duke went, and obtain from his valet the information he wanted. In due time the messenger returned, when it appeared that his destination was Cork-in-Cartmel, Carnforth, and the throaty detonations were explained.

March 7th.—Anson was in my room this morning for some time, and gave me some particulars on the approaching contest for the Oxford Chancellorship, which in its main lines will become a struggle between Balliol and Christ Church. All the Liberal Fellows of Balliol, including the Master, are strongly in favour of Curzon, and the same sentiment is predominant in the University at large.

I attended a meeting at Londonderry House in support of the National League for Physical Education and Improvement; the interest in the proceedings seemed very languid.

March 9th.—I have obtained some insight into the ideas of the Government for dealing with the House of Lords. It appears that, for the purposes of discussion, they have not shrunk from the treatment of the problem in its widest application, including the alternative of a single chamber. An Imperial Senate, a reformed and reduced House of Lords somewhat on the lines of Newton's Bill, a second Chamber deprived of co-ordinate powers with the House of Commons, together with schemes for surmounting differences between the two by joint sittings, have all entered into review. The result, so far as I am in a position to judge, has been to bring out the extreme difficulty of arriving at any solution which is at once practicable and at the same time unlikely to carry in its train consequences prejudicial to well-ordered government.

March 15th.—We dined last night with the Reays, and had a very agreeable dinner. The French Ambassador, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, the Colebrookes, Sir E. and Lady Tennant, Midletons, Cheylesmores, Mrs. Lowther, George Hamiltons, and one or two more. I took the Speaker's wife in to dinner, whose high position does not restrain liberty of speech. Lady Tennant's charm has a curiously premeditated grace. The dinner was an excellent one.

March 16th.—Events that may be historic are taking place two doors off. At 10.30 this morning the Cabinet Committee, charged with providing Ministers with a policy towards the House of Lords, met in the Lord Chancellor's house, 8 Eaton Square. I understand the opinion of the Committee is crystallising toward two proposals, the one for reducing the resistance of the Upper Chamber to a two years' veto, and the other for arranging the differences between the two Houses by a common Session in Westminster Hall—a plan which would certainly invest a constitutional crisis with the dignity of a great national inquest.

March 19th.—The preparations for the Hague Conference give cause for some anxiety. It is the present intention of the Prime Minister to attend on the days appropriated to the discussion of disarmament, which, in the present feeling of all Europe towards the views he has announced, is held by many to be at least an indiscretion.

While most of the European Powers regard the attitude of the English Government as a somewhat transparent hypocrisy, Germany entertains the conviction that it is directed against her, and forms part of the Machiavellian designs which she has discerned behind the naval policy of Sir J. Fisher: that distinguished man is at the moment the *bête noire* of German statesmanship,

and every move in the game which can be attributed to English intrigue is held to be a step towards the realisation of his end, viz. the destruction of the German Navy.

Another topic, of perhaps even greater importance, which is included in the proposals of Russia and must therefore come up for discussion, is that of the seizure of belligerent property under a neutral flag. Russia desires to obtain the adhesion of Europe to the doctrine already embodied in the Declaration of Paris, that the flag covers the merchandise. The Attorney-General, who, as a commercial lawyer, realises the vast importance of the issue, takes, with the whole legal department of State, the strongest possible objection to any surrender of the position we have always maintained, and I am informed that he has put the case together in a document so forceful and luminous as to rank with the best State papers ever contributed to international discussion.

We dined with Sybil Burnaby, whose brother Delamere was there from East Africa, where he has made his home, and of which he speaks with enthusiasm.

March 26th.—The Prince of Wales held a Council on behalf of the King. The Commission authorising him thereto was first read by the Lord President, and the Prince then gave His Majesty's approval to the various items of business submitted.

March 27th.—Lord Rosebery's speech, which was addressed among others to some forty Ministerialists in the House of Commons, must have given the Government some cause for clear thinking. His statement that he " hardly owed them the common courtesies of life " was very curious, an avowal of aloofness almost sublime in the distance which he placed between himself and his late friends.

March 30th.—With the adjournment for the Easter Recess, reflection is apt to turn to the conduct of the Session up to date. So far it has been a condition of promise rather than performance. Bills have been introduced, but, with the exception of Haldane's Army Bill, not one has in any sense caught hold of public opinion, and in one or two cases the note of condemnation has been sounded without respect of party. The management of the House of Commons suffers from the continuous absences of the Prime Minister and the supineness of his lieutenant, who does not " come to time " when most wanted.

In administration the most notable feature of the Government policy is its readiness to surrender to the " Celtic fringe " : the withdrawal of the new Welsh Education Department from all subordination to the Secretary of the Board, and its establishment in direct communication with the President, was a new departure sufficient to excite doubts and arouse apprehensions ; but a further step has been taken out of regard to " Welsh susceptibilities " which must issue in chaos. Two gentlemen have been

appointed to control the new Office, one who is to be responsible for administration ; and another as the head of the Inspectorate ; but, as neither will serve under the other, they are to be made, in Morant's expressive phrase, "co-equal and co-eternal."

April 14th.—The first week of the resumed session has been marked by auguries of no great promise for the success of Haldane's Army Bill. The suspicions of the Labour and Radical sections in the House have been excited upon the ultimate cost and the tendencies towards conscription they think it conceals, and these opinions have found a powerful mouthpiece within the Cabinet itself in the person of the Lord Chancellor.

April 22nd.—We spent Friday till Monday with the Drummonds in Warwickshire, and on Saturday drove to Edgehill, which rises abruptly from the plain and in clear weather commands views to the west and north as far as Malvern and the Wrekin. Its strength as a defensive position against an advancing enemy justifies its choice by Charles I at the outbreak of the Civil War. It was easy to recall the main features of the situation upon that memorable morning, and in the quiet of a soft April haze it did not seem impossible that the spirits of some of those who slept beneath the turf might still be brooding upon the scene of their fratricidal struggle.

A brilliant party at Stafford House, in honour of the Colonial Premiers, attracted a great crowd. No one approached the Duchess in beauty or distinction, and yet there were many with claims to both.

April 25th.—It fell to my lot to attend the Colonial Conference to-day, as the subject of an Imperial Court of Appeal came on for discussion, and Crewe and the Lord Chancellor were both present. The resolution tabled by Mr. Deakin on behalf of the Commonwealth of Australia in favour of the establishment of such a Court, in which the functions of the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be united, did not find favour with the Government, and the problem of shelving it without friction presented some difficulty. Fortunately, there was a second resolution in the hands of Jameson, dealing with improvements in detail to the procedure of the Judicial Committee ; and, with some amendments which I had a hand in shaping, it was ultimately accepted, and Deakin induced to forgo taking the opinion of the Conference upon his proposal. The day before there had been a very acute controversy between Deakin and John Burns on the subject of emigration, in the course of which the latter had not spared the susceptibilities of the Australian Premier ; but no trace of this was present to-day in the style in which Deakin unfolded his views, though he was evidently speaking to a wider auditory, as he reverted to the action of Mr. Chamberlain when the Commonwealth Act was

before Parliament, with some covert acrimony, and was evidently actuated with a desire to belittle the esteem in which the Privy Council was held in Australia.

Jameson put his points clearly and well, and was followed by Botha, who had some supplementary resolutions which were the result of their joint deliberations. The merits of the present system, as compared with those of an Imperial Court, were to them clearly of secondary importance, by the side of the wish they expressed for a Supreme Court in South Africa to which litigants from all the various States could go. This they looked upon as the first step to a federation of South Africa, and one that was likely to accelerate its realisation more speedily than any other single expedient; but Jameson did not take any pains to disguise his belief that the establishment of such a Court would render the Imperial Court a sentimental luxury only worth preserving as a picturesque symbol. Laurier paid a tribute, which, as representative of Canada, he could hardly avoid, to the services of the Judicial Committee, but temporised on the main question, the most practical and well-considered contribution to the debate coming from Sir J. Ward, the Premier of New Zealand, who gave Deakin no more than the most perfunctory support, and indicated that very little was required to make the present system as satisfactory as any that the wit of man could devise.

The Lord Chancellor's reply covered the whole ground, and, while quite firm on the main issue, was couched in terms of great deference to colonial aspirations. He showed that Deakin's preference for the House of Lords had no correspondence with fact, and that sending Australian appeals to that tribunal would, so far as the choice of judges was concerned, limit the area of selection, and, in a word, with perfect courtesy left no part of his case standing. Outwardly Deakin took the rebuff in good part, but there was clearly in his mind an undercurrent of chagrin: he strove manfully to secure some substantive affirmation of his resolution, merely as a recommendation to the Imperial Government, but this, as Elgin pointed out, would have been out of place, as the Government were a party to the Conference; and finally he accepted the chairman's proposition merely to record the fact of his resolution having been discussed. Elgin's intervention thus got over what might have proved a serious obstacle to harmony upon a subject involving one of the most important bonds of Imperial unity.

Lip-service to the Imperial idea was forthcoming in abundance, but the efforts of statesmanship to give it a substantive form met with very little response. Things are, in fact, tending to the free association of independent communities, as the ideal of Empire, with no link apart from the Crown but a common origin and an assumed parity of political development.

May 4th.—The garden party at Osterley in honour of our colonial visitors was favoured by a burst of spring sunshine, and I never saw the place look so bright as in this moment of awakening verdure. At Lady Jersey's wish I took the Commendatore Boni, famous for the excavations he has conducted in Italy, round the house. I tried to get out of him the view taken in Italy of Professor Waldstein's complaint that his designs on Herculaneum have been unfairly frustrated: our means of communication were not very easy, but the difficulty, as I expected, seems to have arisen through the exaggerated demands of Mr. Waldstein.

May 7th.—The discussion on Newton's Bill for the reform of the House of Lords terminated in the acceptance of Cawdor's motion for a Committee on the subject. Newton's speech was marked by his usual vivacity. Lord Crewe's reply was weighted by the difficulty that he had to keep the Government's intention up his sleeve while vaguely adumbrating his views. I saw the Duke of Devonshire in the lobby, who remarked: "I don't think Crewe much liked his job." The Duke's own speech raised the level of the debate and was a signal contribution to the practical and constitutional aspects of the problem. He was followed by Lord Rosebery, who began an oration bristling with the signs of studious preparation with the amusing declaration that nothing had been further from his intention than to take part in the debate. The speech was in many respects brilliant, but it was marked by a palpable desire to injure the Government through the person of the Prime Minister, upon whom he directed the most pointed sarcasm.

We had a Council in the morning at which Winston Churchill was sworn. Whether to mark his aloofness from ordinary restraints, he came in a cut-away coat, which I am bound to say I did not notice until George Holford called my attention to it after the Council. The King kept us waiting for some time, and during the last ten minutes or so Winston paced up and down the far end of the room with rapid strides, his head bent upon his breast and his hands in his coat-tail pockets, a very curious figure. While explaining to him the nature of the ceremony, I found his hands straying up to my neck, and, before I knew what he was about, he had put my tie straight for me, which I took to be another instance of a sedulous restlessness. The King treated him with marked distinction in retaining him for an audience after the Council, and made the favour more conspicuous by telling Tweedmouth, who, as the Cabinet Minister in charge of the Navy might well have expected an audience, to take the message to his nephew.

The King called me back to give instructions for the Council to be held on Friday for swearing in the Colonial Premiers.

May 9th.—Last night we dined with the Eustace Cecils: a very pleasant dinner. I had charge of Mrs. Lecky, an extremely intelligent and agreeable woman, who represents some of the best and most ancient blood in Holland; Lady Salisbury was on the other side, who impressed me with the justice and insight of her remarks.

May 14th.—Dinner at the Hyltons', to which we took Mary Curzon. I had charge of Lady Haversham, with Lady Oranmore on the other side. Some twenty-two people in all.

May 15th.—Sir Ernest Satow, Lady Hylton, Delamere, and Sybil Burnaby came to luncheon. Satow is an interesting figure, and not the least so by virtue of the love of retirement which has succeeded years spent in strenuous and successful public service. He has been called from his retreat in the west to meet Prince Fushimi in London, and a few weeks hence he will have to spend two months at the Hague as one of the representatives of this country at the Peace Conference. His Polish blood gives him the grace of an exotic in English society, and his indifference to all that makes the average man's ambitions stamps him with the seal of election.

May 17th–22nd.—At Bournemouth with my uncle Feversham during the coldest Whitsuntide on record. I made a pious pilgrimage to the green spot between two rivers within sound of the sea, where the venerable pile of Christchurch looks down upon the heaped-up dust of thirty generations. I know no mediæval shrine which, in its divorce from the current of modern life, appeals so powerfully to the imagination. There is certainly none richer in the witness to the past and in the variety of those architectural motives which for four centuries strove to express themselves in stone, from the Romanesque arches of Flambard to the perpendicular windows that make the choir and ambulatory a very temple of light. Bournemouth is to me a sad place, so closely is it associated with recollections of blighted lives, sickness, and premature deaths. "Every house amid these pines is sacred to the memory of some long agony, some bitter wrench of parting, some ruthless trampling down of hope and joy."

June 1st.—Council to-day for royal sanction of Letters Patent establishing the new Constitution of the Orange River Colony, which in its main features follows the Transvaal model. The Lord President, Elgin, Herbert Gladstone, and Sandhurst attended. Herbert Gladstone was very mortified at having to sacrifice his Saturday golf.

June 2nd.—Sunday at Ratton. The Chichesters, Clonmells, Mrs. Skeffington Smyth, de Vesci, and Agar-Robartes formed the party. The weather was bad, but it had no effect on our untiring hostess, whom I like very heartily. She is thoroughly *bon enfant*.

June 4th.—I attended the funeral service at St. Peter's, Vere

Street, for poor old Freddy Leveson,[1] whose death last week at the great age of eighty-eight closed a very amiable life. He was the senior member of the Travellers' Club, and I had been closely associated with him since 1890 in the administration of the School of Cookery, which he may be said to have founded. A charming and most kindly disposition made him a general favourite, and the church was full of men and women. On taking his place at the reading-desk, Canon Page Roberts made a low bow to Arthur Ellis, who occupied the front seat as representative of the King, an act as I thought of execrable taste, but perhaps none the less characteristic. I remember meeting the Canon some years ago at luncheon with Lady Constance Leslie, when, in explanation of his ability to draw the male sex into his congregation, he told us that instructions were given that, however full the church, good places were to be left vacant after the service began for men, "principally distinguished men," who habitually came late. I could not help saying, "Am I to understand, Canon, that the same arrangement obtains in the Kingdom of Heaven?"

June 14th.—Funeral service for Arthur Ellis at St. James's Chapel. His death at the Opera House three nights ago struck a tragic note in the midst of a great state pageant. A moment before he had been talking in his usual vein of humour, and the next he was dead in his chair. Personally and officially my relations with him had always been of a most cordial character, and one could not fail to appreciate the caustic pungency of his conversation, which had the more effect upon the background of pomp and plausibility against which his work was cast. A great crowd filled the chapel. I thought the Duke of Devonshire looked ill and worn.

June 17th.—The Bishop of Stepney[2] dined with us to-night; the Malmesburys, Lady Hylton, the Wythes, Miss Haldane, and Delamere came to meet him. The Bishop is quite a man of the world and very agreeable, while impressing you with the force and elevation of his views. Delamere has an unconventional vigour of thought which commands attention, and closer acquaintance reveals the causes of his success as a negotiator and pioneer. The Bishop described Miss Haldane as the ablest woman in Scotland.

June 21st.—The Duke of Devonshire was brought back to London yesterday suffering from acute heart weakness complicated with a considerable settlement of water on the lungs. On going up this evening to enquire, I found Victor Cavendish and Charles Montagu waiting with John Dunville for Lauder Brunton's report, who was then with the Duke. He came down looking grave, having found his patient very depressed, but assured us

[1] The Hon. Frederick Leveson-Gower.
[2] Now Archbishop of York.

that, though there was much that was serious in his condition, having regard to his age and general health, he believed he would recover, as in the twenty-four hours since his return he had already responded to the remedies used such as Nauheim baths and heart stimulants.

June 22nd.—I was up at Devonshire House again this morning, and saw Lady de Trafford, who had dinner with the Duchess the evening before, and gave a reassuring account of the Duke's state and the distinct rally he had made after the second bath, so that I hope and trust his life is not in any present danger: the loss to English politics at this juncture of such a personality would be little short of a disaster.

At the Windsor garden party Mrs. Maguire told me he had overdone himself at Lismore, fishing the heavy water day after day. Except for one storm just after tea, the rain held off and there was some sun, but the mass of people made it very difficult to find one's friends.

Poor Arthur Ellis, in talking a few days before his death to Frederick about the arrangements, discussed the probability of rain and the lack of any very solid protection, summing up: "If the worst comes to the worst, we must raise the cry 'To your tents, O Israel!'"

June 23rd.—I went down to Osterley in the afternoon and stayed to dinner: a party of twenty, including the Bessboroughs, Saltouns, Lady Powis, George Peel and Lady Agnes, the Rices, Lord Sanderson, Wilfrid Ward, wife and daughter. I came back with the Wards, and understood easily how Mrs. Ward comes to write such sympathetic studies of feminine character. W. Ward is an agreeable man, and very fluent.

June 25th.—I have been obtaining information for the Prime Minister on the subject of a Royal Commission on Cancer. Lords Lister and Rayleigh were the obvious persons to appeal to, though in the present state of medical opinion, nothing but a dubious judgment could be expected. Lord Lister wrote very courteously, but expressed nothing more than the view of the medical authorities, which I knew would be unfavourable to investigation by any independent body. Lord Rayleigh disclaimed any qualification to speak on his own responsibility, but undertook to ascertain whether the Council of the R.S. would advise on the point. I saw him at Windsor, but am not sanguine that anything fruitful will come of it. The medical profession will hear of nothing but the surgical treatment of cancer, partly because of its traditional repugnance to the introduction of new methods, and possibly owing to the enormous profits that accrue from operation for cancer. Jenner, Simpson, and to a lesser degree Pasteur and Lister, have all in turn had to encounter the opposition of the Mandarins of the profession.

June 28th.—The King's birthday brought in its train the usual public function. For the first time for three years the weather permitted the time-honoured ceremony of "Trooping the Colour." I had a stand in the garden of the Privy Council office, to which Lady Hamilton, Lady Bathurst, and Lady Hylton brought three children apiece, Lady Hampden two. Monny and Mary Curzon, Cecily Butler, and the two Trefusis girls also came. I dined with Herbert Gladstone in the evening, and afterwards went to the Foreign Office and Lady Salisbury's party. I attended the first-named, as Lady Crewe was receiving, and very nearly got penned in, as all the exits were barred. Fortunately I found a Foreign Office messenger who knew me, by whose good offices Ailwyn Fellowes and I were conveyed downstairs in the lift and so escaped. Lady Salisbury's party was very pleasant, plenty of nice people and lots of room.

June 30th (Cherbourg).—We came over here yesterday in Alfred Farquhar's yacht, and had a delightful passage in broad sunlight and with a calm sea of the deepest and tenderest blue, against which the Needles shone like silver pinnacles, as we passed seaward along the receding shores of the Isle of Wight. Our party gave some cause for solicitude, as we had two octogenarians on board in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. W. Lowther, who both displayed a most indomitable spirit. Mr. Lowther had, it is true, the prudence not to land while we were here, but Mrs. Lowther came ashore twice, and, as we returned to the ship in the evening, the wash in the roadstead from a strong north-easterly wind through the gap in the breakwater, made her transit from the launch to the ship's ladder a matter of some difficulty and no little danger.

The church at Cherbourg has some features of great antiquity, including a central tower with a high-pitched roof, and also a row of lovely rose-windows in the clerestory. We drove in the afternoon to a charming seventeenth-century château, belonging to a Tocqueville, built in the last days of Henry IV, when the needs of a place of defence were giving way to the sense of domestic grace and convenience. The house stood in a fold of some wooded hills, wide enough at its mouth to give space for broad lawns and gardens against a background of really fine forest trees.

July 2nd.—The advent of July, with so little of the ministerial programme fulfilled, invites some reflections on the parliamentary position. The only two Ministers who have admittedly enhanced their reputation are Harcourt and Crewe. Except in regard to the business of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, the whole conduct of government action in the House of Lords devolves on Crewe, and his industry and aptitude come more and more prominently in view. Though the Prime Minister may retain his personal hold on the good-will of his supporters, their fidelity to the system

of management which he personifies is put to a severe strain as weeks and months go by without the realisation of any one of his aims. It is only in India that administrative energy and the determination to preserve order at all costs have given the Government opportunity to acquire credit by firmness and courage. The position of their opponents is no better; the criticism of colonial policy, to which they have pledged themselves, inspires neither confidence in their judgment nor faith in their capacity, and the belated appearance on the Notice Paper of a censure upon the conduct of the Imperial Conference is indicative of their bankruptcy of ideas.

July 6th.—We dined with the Clintons last night, and went to Lady Portsmouth's party, at which "Mark Twain" was a prominent figure. Lady Marjorie Wilson amused me with some of her experiences as Lady Crewe's understudy in the social enterprises that figure so largely in the political activity of the Liberal Party. Whether the presence of Cabinet Ministers' wives and daughters at the local festivities of the *haute bourgeoisie* produces results at all in proportion to the amount of energy developed is of course a point for the organisers to determine; but, to judge from the confessions of one, and that not the least attractive, of those who play the title-rôle on such occasions, a good deal of the force explodes in the wrong direction.

A Council this morning for swearing in the new Privy Councillors and other matters. Lords Crewe, Althorp, and Shuttleworth, and Mr. McKenna attended. Mr. Spence Watson, as a member of the Society of Friends, claimed to affirm, and Sir L. Brampton Gurdon followed his example, for no particular reason, as far as I can make out, except a love of singularity.

July 12th.—The management of the Army Bill in the House of Lords has been a distinct success for the Government, and the handling of the Bill for the representation of women on local bodies has further confirmed Crewe's growing reputation for the best qualities of leadership. In regard to the latter he was much assisted by Lord Lansdowne's tactful intervention, when the Bill was first before the House, in securing an adjournment of the committee stage until cooler reflection had brought a sufficient number of Unionist Peers into line in favour of the course the Government recommended. As this was one of the few Bills of importance which, in deference to the wishes of the Peers, had been introduced in their Chamber, it would have had a very bad effect if they had so changed its character as to prejudice its chance of becoming law in the present Session.

We had a small dinner last night in honour of Mary Curzon's engagement to Lord Curzon. Lady Hylton was fortunately able to come at two days' notice, and so represent his relations.

Mrs. Gladstone had a party at 11 Downing Street, which was

a triumph of good management in the utilisation of unpromising material. Though the house is full of holes and crannics, the walls pierced with the narrowest doorways, and the floors connected by stairways like companion-ladders, there was no crowding. Fortunately, it was a fine night, and full advantage could be taken of the garden. Lady Grove was magnificent. I was talking about the picture A. Douglas has recently painted of her, which led her to enlarge on the difficulties which a beautiful woman presented to anyone who sought to express her!

July 20th.—At the State Ball last night a great block in and around the ball-room left the magnificent suite of surrounding rooms positively untenanted. A heavy mist hung over the lower part of the gardens, and one or two lights gleaming in distant houses above the heavy masses of foliage gave an eerie appearance of distant hills.

July 22nd.—We spent Sunday with Julia Lady Tweeddale in Sussex, in a garden conspicuous for roses and conifers. An avenue of some thirty Italian cypresses of true monumental shape was a very notable feature. The Speaker and Mrs. Lowther and Seaforth completed the party.

July 23rd.—I went for a short time to Mrs. Lowther's last reception at the Speaker's house. Not long since a citizen of the U.S., looking across the river from the terrace, espied the sections of St. Thomas's Hospital, and remarked: "I guess those are the mansions of the nobility who wish to be near the House of Lords!"

July 25th.—Last night we dined with Bill Barrington and met the First Secretary of the Italian Embassy, Count Boisdari and his wife, the Belgian First Secretary and wife, Sir W. and Lady Young, and the Douglas Dawsons. Douglas introduced me to his wife, and I was fortunate in finding myself next her at dinner, as she seemed a charming woman, with all the saving grace that comes of French blood.

This evening Lord Lansdowne occupied the next table at the Travellers', and spoke with gloomy emphasis of the probable prolongation of the Session into September. His opinion has of course a special significance, as the line the House of Lords pursues on his recommendation must have decisive effect. It is clearly not his intention to allow Bills sent up at the last minute, which have only got through the House of Commons by sweeping application of the closure, to escape the most careful scrutiny in the second Chamber: its reputation as a revising authority is at stake, and, with the attacks levelled against its competence in that respect, Lord Lansdowne has no choice but to offer a direct challenge to its critics.

August 3rd–6th.—I went down to Cowes to spend three nights on board the "Aldebaran." Hilda Guest accompanied me. We had the Russian Ambassador as a fellow-passenger, and, crossing

from Southampton to Cowes, we were joined by Miss Blanche Lascelles, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, whose name was also familiar to me as a contributor of some charming verses to "The Westminster Gazette." One poem in particular, two stanzas to the Dawn, lingered in my memory, of which I reminded her, somewhat to her dismay, as gifts of the sort are not encouraged at modern Courts. However, I think she was pleased at my admiration of this essay on a theme which the Muse of Algernon Swinburne and Anna de Nòailles had touched.

On Sunday I had luncheon with the Godfrey Barings, when I met Arthur and Lady Muriel Paget, Mrs. Jack Leslie, and some other people from a yacht.

The racing on Monday included some interesting incidents, the "Nyria" grounding within half a cable of our anchorage. I lunched on board the "Medusa" and met Ormonde, Cork, and the Henry Denisons. The Fleet was illuminated in the evening, and the long line of light extending *à perte de vue* was very effective. The most impressive scene was reserved to the following morning, when the ships dispersed between five and seven. The silent movement of these vast engines of destruction in the tranquillity of the early morning, passing and repassing, as division by division they disappeared, had all the significance of a great dramatic action.

August 7th.—Lord Bristol's long and painful illness terminated this morning. He had been in London but a fortnight ago, and left with hopeful auguries for the future; but it was not to be, and, after more than three days' unconsciousness, he has passed away. Those who were summoned to his bedside had to watch for that time the slow struggle of failing vitality against the approach of death without the consolation—if it is so—of any signs of farewell. It is given, however, to few, when they disappear, to evoke so strong an instinct of affectionate regret. Death may extinguish a noble and stately figure, but, if it crowns the dead with homage, we may well hail the event as both a deliverance and a transfiguration.

August 12th.—Council to-day for the preliminaries of the Prorogation before the King's departure. Beauchamp received the wand as Lord Steward, and Denman was given his baton as Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms. Lord Herschell and Archie Edmonstone were in attendance for the first time in their new capacities, and produced an agreeable impression by courtliness of carriage. Harry Verney also made his appearance as the Deputy Master of the Household.

August 14th.—Yesterday Lord Rosebery delivered a vehement attack upon the Scottish land policy of the Government. Following a very feeble defence made by Lord Tweedmouth in reply to a searching criticism from Lord Balfour, Lord Rosebery sub-

jected the whole scheme of the Bill to a most destructive analysis, and was particularly caustic in his exposure of the ignorance and levity which, in his opinion, had characterised its conduct. The contemptuous tone of his references to the Secretary for Scotland indicated the measure of his esteem for that amiable henchman of the Prime Minister, from whom I could not withhold a meed of sympathy, as he sat a few yards off on the steps of the throne, trying to look as if he was enjoying the castigation of somebody else.

Lord Rosebery made legitimate sport of the alleged repudiation of responsibility for each other's Bills by Harcourt and Sinclair respectively, and therein he touched one of the crying evils of modern parliamentary government. Ministers are so overwhelmed with work, administrative and parliamentary, that departmental legislation falls more and more into the hands of the Minister in charge. Cabinet Committees are ineffective instruments for the preparation or criticism of Bills, and when circulated to the whole Cabinet, if seen at all, they obtain nothing but the most perfunctory attention. It thus happens that the Government is often deeply pledged to a scheme of reform wholly unsuited to the objects it has in view, and their *amour-propre* irretrievably involved in its promotion, before it is discovered that no one whose opinion is of any weight cares for it, and that the best course is to drop it outright.

I had a curious confirmation of this view in the course of the day. I happened to lunch at Haldane's house, and met Sir E. Grey and Edward Ward. Grey and my host were naturally troubled by the action of their late leader ; Haldane was especially concerned, as his knowledge of Scotland enabled him to estimate the full extent of the mistake that has been committed: he allowed the full force of Lord Rosebery's attack, and complained that, in drafting the Bill, Sinclair had disregarded the whole body of non-political and expert opinion in Scotland on the subject. "What would have become of me," he exclaimed bitterly, "if I had pursued a similar plan in dealing with the Army ?" He attributed a great deal of the mischief to a Prime Minister who persistently cuts himself off from contact with the forces it is his business to guide and control. I am not far wrong in the belief that half the Cabinet disapproves the Bill, and it is possible that the House of Lords will be held up to public odium for having interpreted the mind of Ministers better than any efforts of their own could achieve.

Haldane spoke very cordially of the part played by Vesey Dawson in the direction of the soldiery during the Belfast riots, and eulogised the tact, judgment, and decision by which he had assisted to keep the forces of disorder within due limits.

Haldane's and Grey's comments upon the relations of Ministers

to their large and heterogeneous following were full of interest. They were both agreed that the Labour members gave them much less trouble than gentlemen in closer political connection—a fact which they were inclined to ascribe to the circumstance that most of the Labour Party had through their Trade Unions become men of affairs, capable of apprehending any practical issue submitted to them. Haldane declared that, in relation to military administration, he had found individual Labour members most ready to listen to reason and accept explanations offered in a reasonable spirit, and Sir E. Grey instanced Mackarness, Cotton, and Bellairs as types of the opposite tendency.

To meet Sir E. Grey does much to enhance confidence in a Government of which he is a member, and I was glad to have so intimate an opportunity of hearing him talk : there is such prudent suavity in his handling of delicate themes, such breadth of judgment in his outlook, such patience in his attitude towards troublesome problems, that one becomes immediately sensible of the advantage that must accrue to the discussion of any subject by its passage through the web of so fine a mind, or its submission to the review of so critical an intelligence.

August 15*th.*—I met Abercorn walking in the Park with Lady Phyllis. He looked far better than I expected, and, though still very weak, gave a good account of his progress, and seemed quite reawakened to the interests of life. Lady Phyllis, too, was evidently disposed to be quite cheerful about him.

August 20*th.*—Further evidence of the coolness of the Cabinet towards Sinclair's unfortunate bantling has come to my notice. McKenna, who is not the most reticent of Ministers, stated on Sunday that it had never been supported by any arguments in Council, and that the Cabinet had accepted it without enquiry or examination on the strength of Sinclair's assurance that all Scotland wanted it. This, taken in connection with Haldane's statement last week, clearly discloses the parentage of the measure, for the assurances of a young and inexperienced Minister like Sinclair would not have been so readily accepted had they not received all the backing which the Prime Minister could give, while his disinclination to tackle any problem thoroughly reduces his authority on such a point to the level of Sinclair's.

August 23*rd.*—No better illustration could be given of the point reached in the descent of politics, " affaire de chantage, de marchandage et souvent de brigandage, rien de plus," than the action of the Prime Minister last night in his envenomed attack upon the House of Lords for opposition to a Bill which he must know has excited the deepest misgivings in the hearts of some of his most influential colleagues ; even if half the Cabinet are willing to accept it, the prediction that it will be reintroduced in its present form may be taken for what it is worth ; but, for

those who value the maintenance of some standard of formal honesty in political conduct, the whole transaction is distasteful in the highest degree.

The Bishops in the House of Lords this afternoon brought Disestablishment perceptibly nearer. The Archbishop, in a series of speeches, advocated an amendment to the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, which was rejected by more than two to one of the lay Peers. The Bishops seem unable to realise that on this question lay and clerical opinion is absolutely antagonistic. The Archbishop had the temerity to invoke canons which declared such marriages repugnant to the law of God, ignoring the fact that, as the Duke of Norfolk explained, the Church of Rome, which in such matters may at least be claimed as the true interpreter of the Canon Law, had never regarded them as other than inconsistent with the disciplinary regulations of the Church, but permissible under the exercise of the dispensing power. Our ecclesiastical authorities seem incapable of appreciating the distinction between *malum prohibitum* and *malum per se*, which is vital to the question.

The Lord Chancellor and Lord Lansdowne summed up the position in language of convincing clarity and moderation, and the House did well for its reputation in resisting the obscurantist appeals of the episcopal bench, supported by the emotional vehemence of Lords Salisbury and Halifax.

August 28th.—The last days of the Session have been marked by some rather transparent fencing between the two Houses. It was known that the Ministerial majority would not have been sorry if the Lords had added the loss of the English Land Bill to the misdeeds for which they are held responsible, and it was to flatter this feeling that Harcourt, on the return of the Bill to the Commons, used language in such signal contrast to Lord Ripon's valedictory remarks in the House of Lords; but Harcourt knew what he was about, and beneath the veil of violence preparations were made for compromise on such points as the Government could concede without eviscerating the Bill. On the other hand, the Lords were not such fools as to be unaware of the limits beyond which no concession was possible, and where, therefore, acceptance of the disagreeable became the highest wisdom. On the whole, honours were fairly even, and, with one or two minor blots, the Bill is a triumph of prudent statesmanship and delicate parliamentary handling.

I had some conversation with my distinguished neighbour, the Lord Chancellor, as I went out this morning to post some letters. He spoke with great emphasis and concern of the immense burden cast upon him by the combination of his judicial and ministerial work with the duties of the Speakership in the House of Lords, which tended to become more and more onerous,

He deplored, too, his obligation to intervene so often in debate, as he said "they were so few," and added that his Cabinet work, which he would not shirk, was in itself a heavy load. He spoke with the greatest warmth of the courtesy and kindness he had received from the Peers, and hoped he would obtain their consent to the appointment of a permanent deputy Speaker, who should draw a salary, and, whenever sittings were prolonged beyond an hour or two, take his place. I ventured to suggest that there would be some drawback in his withdrawal from the chair, and still more in his absence from debate, as no Chancellor within my experience had impressed the House so much by the generosity of his judgment and the weight of his advice, at which he smiled ruefully and expressed the fear that it was not so often as he might wish.

August 29th.—The last of the politicians are disappearing fast, but I found Cawdor at luncheon to-day. He is a strong advocate of bringing matters to a head with the Government by making a *bonâ fide* offer to the House of Commons to co-operate with the Lords in a joint resolution for carrying unfinished Bills over to the next Session of Parliament.

I saw the Duke of Grafton this afternoon. In his eighty-seventh year, he is going to Aix next week! He told me he had written to Lord Lansdowne urging him to discourage his followers from putting forward a multitude of amendments on small points instead of concentrating attention on a few salient features. Lord Lansdowne's reply was short, and to the point: "I wish you would come and try!"

September 5th.—I had hardly got away when I was called back by the sudden death of Monny Curzon,[1] succeeding in less than five hours an effusion of blood on the brain which occurred at dinner last Saturday night. He was buried yesterday within a stone's-throw of the house he loved so well, amid every possible demonstration of the regard and affection in which he was held. Few men in these days have realised so completely the old knightly ideal of chivalrous self-surrender. Within the limits of a somewhat strict tradition, he gave himself to the obligations of his position with a spontaneous sympathy and debonair grace that endeared him to all classes. I can safely say I never met a more engaging and attractive personality.

September 9th.—The crisis in Newfoundland and the decision to confer upon New Zealand the position of a "Dominion" made a Council necessary on the King's return from Marienbad. Harcourt took the job, as he had to officiate for the Home Secretary at the homage of the Bishop of Newcastle. The King decided, subject to accident, that the next Council should be held on November 2nd.

[1] Colonel the Hon. Montagu Curzon.

September 11*th*–18*th*.—I spent this week at Ammerdown, and, but for the presence the last two days of the Constantine Herveys, alone with my host and hostess.

September 19*th*.—I came up to London yesterday, as I had business in connection with Mary Curzon's settlements. I had luncheon with her and her fiancé at Curzon House, and then went to Messrs. Bird in Bedford Row. The girl showed feeling and intelligence in the transaction of what required to be done. I left in the afternoon for Duncombe Park.

October 11*th*.—Returned to London after an absence of just twenty-two days, most of which was spent in Yorkshire: two sojourns there of a week, each being divided by six days in Scotland, four of which were spent at Monreith with Herbert Maxwell.

October 25*th*.—I joined Haldane at Buckingham Gate and walked with him as far as the Horse Guards Parade. He is full of hope for the success of his army scheme, and has great confidence in the spirit with which the County Associations are likely to undertake their work. The meeting at Buckingham Palace to-morrow will, he believes, give it a great impetus, following upon those that he has himself addressed in Scotland at Blair and Dalmeny. He spoke with great warmth of the effect which the discussion at the Conference has had in bringing to the front the Imperial significance of a general staff, interchangeable in all parts of the Empire, working at the consolidation of its defences and permeating the whole with one purpose and intelligence, and begged me to read the chapters in the Blue Book in which it was all recorded. Certainly if breadth of view, capacity for large ideas inspired by a generous optimism, and untiring devotion deserve to succeed, he should have some guarantee for the permanence of his work at the War Office.

October 26*th*–28*th*.—At Garatshay for Mary Curzon's wedding, which took place on Monday the 28th in the little church, hard by which her father was laid to rest scarce eight weeks ago. To those who attended both ceremonies the occasion was reminiscent of much that was mournful. Howe brought a party from Gopsall, including his brother and sisters, and three of his sisters-in-law (the Duchess of Roxburgh, Lady de Ramsey and Lady S. Wilson), Nigel Kingscote and Lady Emily, and Tweedmouth. Isabella Lady Howe came from Coton, which necessitated a scanty breakfast and an early start, a conjunction of circumstances which did not allay feelings normally sensitive to undue stress. Mary looked very lovely, and, as I took her to the church, showed, as I thought, a pathetic sense of the shadow resting on her happiness. The absence of bridesmaids and the usual decorative attire among the guests, lent a peculiar *éclat* to her fragile beauty in its ethereal draperies; and after the ceremony was over an element of joyousness and even gaiety came into being.

Luncheon improved the benevolence of Lady Howe's outlook, though with an angry glance at Tweedmouth across the table she described Haldane as "the best of the crew."

The bride and bridegroom left at 2.30, and all were gone a few minutes later. I returned to London the same evening.

November 2nd.—At the Council to-day Horace Farquhar and Lord Granard were sworn. After some hesitation, the further prorogation of Parliament was limited to the customary forty days, Ministers not yet having made up their minds when to commence the ensuing session, though for the present the middle of January and no autumn sitting are in the ascendant.

November 11th.—The arrangements for next Session have been the subject of acute debate in the Cabinet; the original idea of meeting on January the 15th or 16th had only been accepted by Sir E. Grey on the understanding that Parliament should rise by the beginning of August, and that there should be no autumn Session, to which Lord Crewe was also resolutely opposed. On reflection, however, and in view of the magnitude of their programme, Ministers appear to have realised that they were curtailing a certain holiday on the precarious chance of an early prorogation, and it has now been decided not to meet till the 29th, but still to contemplate an adjournment at a reasonable date while throwing a sop to the opponents of an autumn Session by limiting it to six weeks.

November 12th.—At the nomination of the Sheriffs to-day Asquith was disposed to deal benevolently with excuses. Two gentlemen, however, who claimed exemption on the score of being candidates for parliamentary honours, had their hopes summarily extinguished. With some humour the Chancellor of the Exchequer looked down his nose and said: "Mr. FitzRoy, when did the present Parliament assemble?" "A year last February, your Lordship." "Then," compassionately, "I am afraid it is too early."

November 15th.—We dined last night at the Ritz with the Lalaings; the Italian Ambassador (Marchese di San Giuliano), Lady Blandford, M. and Mme May, of the Belgian Legation, the Councillor of the Dutch Legation and his wife, Count Boisdari and Mrs. Capel Cure, completed the party. The Italian Ambassador is a very agreeable man, with, as befits one of his race, a great enthusiasm for art, whose sanctuary he places in Tuscany and Umbria. Mrs. Capel Cure lives on one of the Borromean Islands, and reflected some of the charm of such a home. The dinner was admirable.

November 23rd.—With the present majority in the House of Commons the great risk to which administration is exposed lies in the pressure upon Ministers to exercise their powers in obedience to preconceived ideas of political obligation. The Lord Chan-

cellor's refusal to make the Magistracy the reward of political activity, "to hawk justice," as he calls it, in the purlieus of politics, has excited more prejudice in the Liberal ranks than any other single act of the administration, although Lord Loreburn is perhaps the most advanced Radical of the lot.

December 4th.—I dined last night with the Royal Society of Medicine at the inaugural banquet held to celebrate its evolution under a Royal Charter from a number of Medical Societies with special aims. The chair was occupied by Sir W. Church, who is at least conspicuous for urbanity. I found myself next to Sir F. Semon. He was very entertaining and did not allow the terms of equality, upon which, as he gave me to understand, he lived with Kings and Emperors, to prevent his extending a similar *camaraderie* to humbler persons. One of his patients not long ago asked him for a return of fees paid for the treatment of some malady of the throat, in regard to which his prognosis and remedies had completely failed. To Semon's reply in courteous terms that compliance with such a request was not consistent with the practice of the profession, the rejoinder was that in commercial pursuits, to which the patient's whole life had been devoted, it was not the custom to take money except for valuable consideration.

December 11th.—Birrell's private secretary was with me this evening, to ascertain the steps that were required to launch the Charters to the new university bodies in Ireland, upon which the Government Bill would be based. When we had disposed of this question, the conversation turned to the present condition of Ireland, on which he spoke with a candour and acuteness which left nothing to be desired, and with a detachment from political prejudices only possible in a cool and dispassionate observer.

The picture was a gloomy one, of discord, of purposeless agitation and dreary intrigue, of universal distrust and culpable timidity—all, in short, that goes to make the helplessness of Governments and the despair of nations. It is a land of dissidences as deep-rooted as the dead forests which encumber its bogs; for Sinn Fein, notwithstanding its attraction for the younger and more hopeful minds, represents nothing but the bankruptcy of an intellectual ideal, which has never done more than live on its capital.

December 12th.—We dined with Lady Brabourne, in the drawing-room of whose house Lord Beaconsfield died. It is difficult to escape the presence of the dead in its familiar places, and I must confess to have been haunted by the pale figure in its agony. I could almost see in the shadow of the curtain Monty Corry clasping the dying hand, and the questioning eyes which had so fearlessly faced the problems of life, *aux prises* with the indecipherable issues of the last enigma.

December 13th.—Malmesbury, Lady Margaret Rice, and the

Arthur Calthorpes dined with us. Malmesbury very pleased with the birth of his heir, to whom the German Emperor, who paid a visit to Heron Court a few days after the event, is to be godfather. He seems to have some natural goodness of heart, as, going through the house, he checked his staff talking lest they should disturb Lady Malmesbury.

December 14th.—We dined with the Haldanes and met some pleasant people of intellectual distinction. Haldane, who is always a capital host, permitted himself to be drawn on the subject of his colloquies with the German Emperor, who told him since he had been in the country he had grown doubtful of his prudence in allowing Haldane to see so much when he was in Germany, to which Haldane replied, "Perhaps Your Majesty will hardly believe that we have no less than seventeen plans for the capture of Berlin pigeon-holed at the War Office." Among the funny things the Emperor narrated was a request from the Mayor of Bournemouth to pay the town a visit and conduct the band!

December 21st.—Council for the further prorogation of Parliament, and swearing in the new Privy Councillors. George Russell, who had written to me several times on the subject in his liveliest style and been to my house to practise his steps, did everything that he was told not to do, which he afterwards justified by the plea that unless he knelt next some support, he had no security that he would be able to recover his legs. The King, with some emphasis, remarked that he had not seen him lately.

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January 3rd–7th.—I spent these days at Ammerdown in cutting frost. The trees were silvered in shapes of extraordinary beauty and a wonderful clearness pervaded the atmosphere, that clearness which gives to every sound, particularly in the woods, the poignancy of a stroke upon the nerves.

January 11th–14th.—With the Malmesburys at Heron Court. The house much improved since we were last there, the installation of electric light having brought the fine pictures out of the walls with great effect. There is much that is interesting connected with the first Lord Malmesbury's diplomatic career and contemporary events. Thus, the writing-table once belonging to the Duc de Choiseul, upon which the treaty known to history as the Family Compact was signed, is a prominent feature in the library, and is a fine specimen of the heavier type of Louis XV furniture.

January 18th–20th.—At Heron Court again for the christening of the infant heir, to whom the German Emperor was sponsor,

Russell and Sons, Osborne Road, Southsea.

HERON COURT.

Count Metternich being there to represent him.[1] The party was twelve in all, consisting of the nearest relations, one of whom's place I took in order to complete the dozen. I had several conversations with Metternich, who spoke freely on topics of considerable interest. The forthcoming vacancy in the English Embassy at Berlin naturally came in for discussion, and I was rather concerned to find that Arthur Nicolson, who I believe would like the transfer, would not be agreeable. Metternich said frankly that he had not the confidence of German diplomacy, events at Algeciras having given him the reputation of an "intriguer" and foe to Germany. He thought Gerard Lowther was a possible candidate, though he lacked polish, and also mentioned Spring-Rice, who, as Sir F. Lascelles' son-in-law, was well known and liked in Berlin. On the subject of English relations with Germany he was very outspoken, and ridiculed the idea of any desire on the part of his country to attack us. He asked with some cogency which of the great Colonies she could hope to absorb as the result of a successful war? The destiny of Canada was clearly towards independence or union with the United States; no European Power, after the events of 1899–1902, was likely to attempt the conquest of South Africa, and India and Australia were beyond the dreams of German ambition; so that her supposed desire to crush England came to this, that she was credited with a wish to destroy her best customer for the sake of a few islands. Germany's determination to have a powerful navy rested upon the obligation to provide for the defence of her growing sea-borne commerce, and it has no ulterior aim or *arrière-pensée*. He called my attention to a half-column in "The Daily Express" purporting to describe a series of organised staff rides said to have been conducted by German officers on the seaboard of Essex, for the purpose of making maps, surveying points of debarkation and noting fortified positions. The same design had recently been the theme of an article in "The Daily Telegraph," and he begged me to say what I thought of such allegations. I had no hesitation in characterising them as intended to stir up bad blood between two nations, and among the worst fruits of the modern craze for sensational journalism. He pointed out to me that, as his Military Attaché had told him, it was inconceivable that any members of the German General Staff should be in this country on such an errand without reporting themselves to him, and Metternich not unfairly emphasised the folly of such a charge by reminding me that, if Germany wanted maps of Essex, it had only to buy a six-inch ordnance survey to

[1] The Harris family has had a somewhat uncommon association with the Hohenzollerns: as the first Lord Malmesbury was twice Ambassador at Berlin, once to Frederick the Great and again to his successor. He enjoyed the special favour of Frederick, who manifested it by many gifts, in which the Emperor took great interest when he visited the house during his stay at Highcliffe.

afford all the information possible. I told him it was easy to exaggerate the effect of the publication of such matter, but he would have it that it was a powerful agent for forming opinion, which I could not deny, and further that the perusal of such stuff in Germany, where the English papers were copiously quoted, had a most disastrous influence, as they had not yet learnt how irresponsible and reckless a certain section of the English Press had become. I liked the man's candour and freedom from acerbity, and in his relations with the whole party he showed a suavity and kindliness which was beyond all praise.

In the evening we had some music—a violinist and his daughter from Bournemouth. The old man was a real enthusiast and played with consummate art a reverie of Vieuxtemps, leaving the mind charged with soothing reminiscences. Dorothy Malmesbury herself played a piece with taste and skill. She has come out wonderfully, and has a real gift for entertaining; quiet, self-contained, and at the same time thoroughly capable, and with powers reinforced by indubitable charm.

January 25th.—The King, having fixed the Council for the King's Speech at Windsor, saved me a lot of trouble by kindly intimating whom he wished summoned, as we were to be all members of the party for Sunday. The Prime Minister, however, failed, and I was busy this morning in finding a substitute. Winston Churchill was going down, but Knollys had written a somewhat singular letter to the Lord President, stating that, in the King's opinion, he was hardly of sufficient weight to be asked to attend this particular Council, when the Royal Speech at the opening of Parliament was presumed to be under consideration. Accordingly, after a good many telephone messages to Windsor and communication with the King, who was out shooting, the presence of Tweedmouth was secured. He, Crewe, and I went down at five o'clock, and the Council was held shortly after our arrival, the Prince of Wales and Dighton Probyn completing the numbers.

We were about thirty-four at dinner, including two or three who came from outside. The assembly in the "blue" drawing-room was imposing; men and women gathered on opposite sides for the entrance of the Royal Party, who proceeded to shake hands with the newcomers before passing to the dining-room, when we picked up our partners and followed. I had charge of Miss Dawnay, one of the Maids of Honour, and Mrs. Lionel Cust was on the other side, both relations of my wife. The guests, besides those mentioned, included Georgiana Lady Dudley, the Iveaghs, Sir J. Murray Scott, and the Dean of Westminster. After dinner the carpet in the "red" drawing-room was rolled up and there was some dancing to the strains of the Blues' Band. Princess Victoria, Lady Alice Stanley, Granville, and Harry

Verney kept it up almost exclusively with the most indefatigable energy. It was rather pretty to see, as the modern valse had become a much more complex dance than in old days, and I only do Lady Alice and the Princess justice in saying that they are both very graceful dancers.

January 26th.—We all paraded for morning service in the private chapel, with a sermon from the Dean of Westminster. Afterwards I took a walk with Harry Verney, Berkeley Milne, and Granville, on which we ran straight into the King. Luncheon was amusing, as I had Winston Churchill next me, who discussed, with Esher on the other side of him, the problem of national defence: I say discussed, but discussion, as understood by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, is an uninterrupted monologue, and certainly he sustained the part assigned to himself with extraordinary vigour, verve, and resource.

It had been my purpose to spend the first part of the afternoon with John Fortescue in the library, and we repaired there immediately after luncheon. It is a most delightful series of apartments at the north-west angle of the Castle, with deep windows overlooking Eton and the country stretching to the Chiltern Hills, and stored with everything to interest the lover of books, or that which is exquisite and unique in the cognate arts.

I had not been there more than half an hour when the advent of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who, it appears, are frequent in their visits, deprived me of the librarian's attention and changed the direction of our researches. The Princess did not say much, but never spoke except to the point, and evinced a most intelligent interest in all she was told.

After dinner, when the ladies had gone to bed, Winston gave another instance of his prodigious versatility by a dissertation on Napoleon's Italian campaigns, in which he reduced a military historian like John Fortescue to silence, and poured forth a stream of eloquence from which no fact or figure was wanting to render it picturesque or complete. I was unfortunately called away to give the King my opinion upon what should be done if Cholmondeley's accident in the hunting field incapacitated him from acting as Lord Great Chamberlain at the opening of Parliament. As in my view it was for the King to exercise his choice among those in whom the decision of the House of Lords had vested the transmission of the rights belonging to the last Duke of Ancaster, I could not have given a more acceptable opinion, and the King showed his satisfaction by very kindly asking me to look at a cabinet at the end of the white drawing-room, which he described as the most beautiful thing in the Castle. Murray Scott justified the description by telling me it was worth £50,000, having been made for Marie Antoinette, and being noted for its incrustation of ormolu: the beauty of the design was enhanced

by the extraordinary softness of the surface, transcending anything that it seemed possible to produce in metal.

The only new acquaintance I made among the King's *entourage* was Berkeley Milne, whose readiness to make himself pleasant was touched with a candour not wholly discreet.

January 28th.—Before the Lansdowne House party we had a small dinner, including the Malmesburys, Hyltons, Mrs. Arthur Henniker, and Lionel Earle, which did very well.

February 3rd.—The attack on the Irish policy of the Government, though delivered with great fury, has not produced much effect. At heart everyone feels that, however necessary may be the repression of disorder, it does not carry you far in disposing of the causes of discontent. Dudley separated himself from his friends, and, in a speech of great earnestness and sincerity, pleaded for patience and conciliatory dealing.

February 8th.—One curious incident connected with the massacre at Lisbon is worth notice. A mining engineer, whose father had been known to him at Fryston, wrote to Crewe to mention the fact that he was noted for his likeness to the King, and that he was willing to place himself at the disposal of the Government for any purpose that might secure His Majesty's safety. Whether he thought that the King might be well advised to stay at home, while he took his place at State processions and other public functions, did not appear, but the letter was quite genuine and evidently originated in a desire for the national good.

February 9th.—The correct action of the King in making a state function of his attendance yesterday at the Requiem Mass celebrated on behalf of the King of Portugal, besides exciting vehement protests from certain Protestant Societies, appears to have ruffled the susceptibilities of the High Anglicans, as even so level-headed and fair-minded a man as the Bishop of Stepney expressed himself with some emphasis in its condemnation. It appears that he was at Buckingham Palace two days ago to receive the King's instructions about the service in St. Paul's to-day, when he met the Prince of Wales, and took occasion to express his regret, mentioning that, to find a precedent for an English King attending a state ceremonial of the Roman Church, it would be necessary to go back to James II. The Prince of Wales replied with some sharpness, "And a very good precedent too!" Upon which the Bishop said demurely, "No doubt Your Royal Highness is familiar with your history, and remembers that the consequences to the King and his family were not so good." A very inadequate reply, having regard to the sense and spirit of the situation, for the Bishop sacrificed fairness of judgment and historical analogy in order to make a rhetorical point, forgetting that no compromise of principle was involved

by an act of courtesy to the fellow-believers of the dead King, which it would have been cowardly to have avoided from the fear of arousing Protestant rancour. The King, in this instance, was far more Christian than his episcopal critics.

February 22nd.—Last night Crewe had his annual dinner for settling the roll of Sheriffs. We were only fourteen, as influenza and other causes accounted for a good many. However, the dinner was pleasant enough, but I looked back with regret upon the days which were illuminated by Lord Salisbury's polished wit. John Burns signalised himself by being the chief contributor to the conversation.

February 29th.—I was ill the early part of the week, and am still feeling very weak, but I have managed to be at the office preparing for to-day's Council, and was able to be in attendance thereat. I was much surprised at the King's knowledge in enquiring how I was : he went on humorously to express the hope that I was not going to give them all influenza, in regard to which I could confidently reassure him. Asquith attended under special instructions, and I have reason to think that the King chose the opportunity to discuss with him the situation that is created by the Prime Minister's illness, and the possible consequences of its indefinite prolongation. Asquith's attendance at the Council, particularly the one connected with the pricking of the Sheriffs, would attract no attention, which a special audience could not fail to do. I congratulated Asquith on the stalwart front he had presented on the Woman's Suffrage division.

The King's departure has been delayed by the approaching advent, which is only just announced, of the Dowager Empress of Russia. It appears that she does not arrive till Wednesday, and Benckendorff represented the very bad effect it would have if the King left England two days before. The postponement is particularly to be regretted as the weather has become very trying to one with the King's bronchial trouble.

March 7th.—" The Times " created a sensation yesterday by publishing a letter from its Military Correspondent, stating that the German Emperor had recently written to Lord Tweedmouth in terms which implied an invitation to betray British interests. " The Times " published the letter with the heading " Under Which King ? " and in a leading article, calculated to awaken alarm, proceeded to infer that the German Emperor had attempted to persuade the First Lord to reduce his Estimates below the level of safety. The animus of the whole move was shown by the writer's taking a series of assumptions as proved, and basing upon them his theory of undue interference on the one side, and doubtless incredible subservience on the other.

I heard some time ago that the Emperor had written a letter with an entirely different object. It arose out of a letter published

in "The Times," in which it was declared that Sir J. Fisher's retirement from the Admiralty would be hailed with delight in every newspaper office throughout Germany; and, whatever we may think of his prudence in writing at all, the Emperor's object was confined to deprecating the assiduous efforts of a large section of the British Press to persuade the public that the increase of the German Navy was directed against this country.

The letter was couched in the Emperor's usual style of colloquial vehemence. The King was, as perhaps he had a right to be, very angry, and for the time objected to Tweedmouth's making any reply at all. An answer was, however, sent, in which he was not altogether well advised in referring to his Estimates as a proof that he, at any rate, did not share the suspicions of which the Emperor complained.

March 9th.—The floor and galleries of the House of Lords were packed this afternoon with an eager crowd to hear Lord Tweedmouth's statement. It was brief, not to say bald in the extreme, and his manner in making it gave the impression of a man who found himself in a difficulty of his own creation. Lord Lansdowne followed with some crisp sentences delivered in a tone of gentle acidulation, in which he described the Emperor's letter as having the privacy which attached to the private view, say, of the Royal Academy; and Lord Rosebery closed the incident in the right key by asking if we were not making ourselves slightly ridiculous by the fuss it had caused. In a few pregnant phrases he condemned the efforts of a certain section of the Press to create ill blood between this country and Germany, and warned them of the consequences which might ensue, at moments of international exasperation, if the Press of both countries set themselves to foster feelings of morbid suspicion. He never spoke with greater prudence and authority.

March 14th.—Percy told me he had received a ticket for Lord Rosebery's address to the Liberal League, and, with one or two other political friends, had watched the proceedings, ensconced in a corner of the room. He described it as quite the most dismal gathering he had ever attended. Lord Rosebery's audience was obviously ill at ease; what little cheering was elicited came from Percy and his friends, while Lord Rosebery's reference to the efforts of the House of Lords to reform itself met with no great response. Percy's impression was that he had come with the intention of making a speech which would dissolve the League and break his last tie with Liberalism, but, owing to one of those unexpected turns of sentiment to which assemblies are subject, the meeting ended by subscription to the conditions which the speaker laid down as necessary for the further activity of the League, and the moment of dissolution was deferred.

R. Monro Ferguson, whom we met at dinner last night, spoke

with bitterness of Haldane and Asquith, therein perchance expressing Lord Rosebery's sentiments, but, in his pathetic attachment to his chief, he fails to realise that the others had obligations to their party and to themselves inconsistent with Lord Rosebery's isolated aims.

We dined with Julia Lady Tweeddale and had a very agreeable evening. I took Mlle de Brienen in to dinner and had Lady Rayleigh on the other side, who is always pleasantly candid. After dinner I had a long talk with Lady Ampthill, who was looking extraordinarily well after a month's illness, and very glad to be about again. She has a most delightful way of impressing you with her charm, and implicit flashes of raillery stir the surface of what she has to say in a manner which awakens curiosity and excites interest.

March 18th.—I had luncheon with the Freeman-Thomases, and met Lloyd George, Lady Wemyss, Lady Brassey, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Miss Cholmondeley, the lady who writes books I never can read with patience, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the organiser of the Cape to Cairo Railway. My hostess was obviously engaged in trying to ensure the political fortunes of Mr. Lloyd George, to which end she employed all her skill to induce him to adhere to the "Liberal League."

Sir Charles Metcalfe told us of a friend of his of such strength that on one occasion, in embracing his wife, he broke two of her ribs.

March 19th.—The Prince of Wales held a Council to-day under the King's Commission, mainly for the object of passing three orders required to bring the new Territorial Army into existence. Haldane attended, and the Prince expressed to him his gratification at presiding on such a memorable occasion. The units to be transferred to the new organisation occupied some eight pages of the Schedule to the Order, and, considering the amount of local sentiment involved in matters of nomenclature, the transfer has been attended with wonderfully little friction.

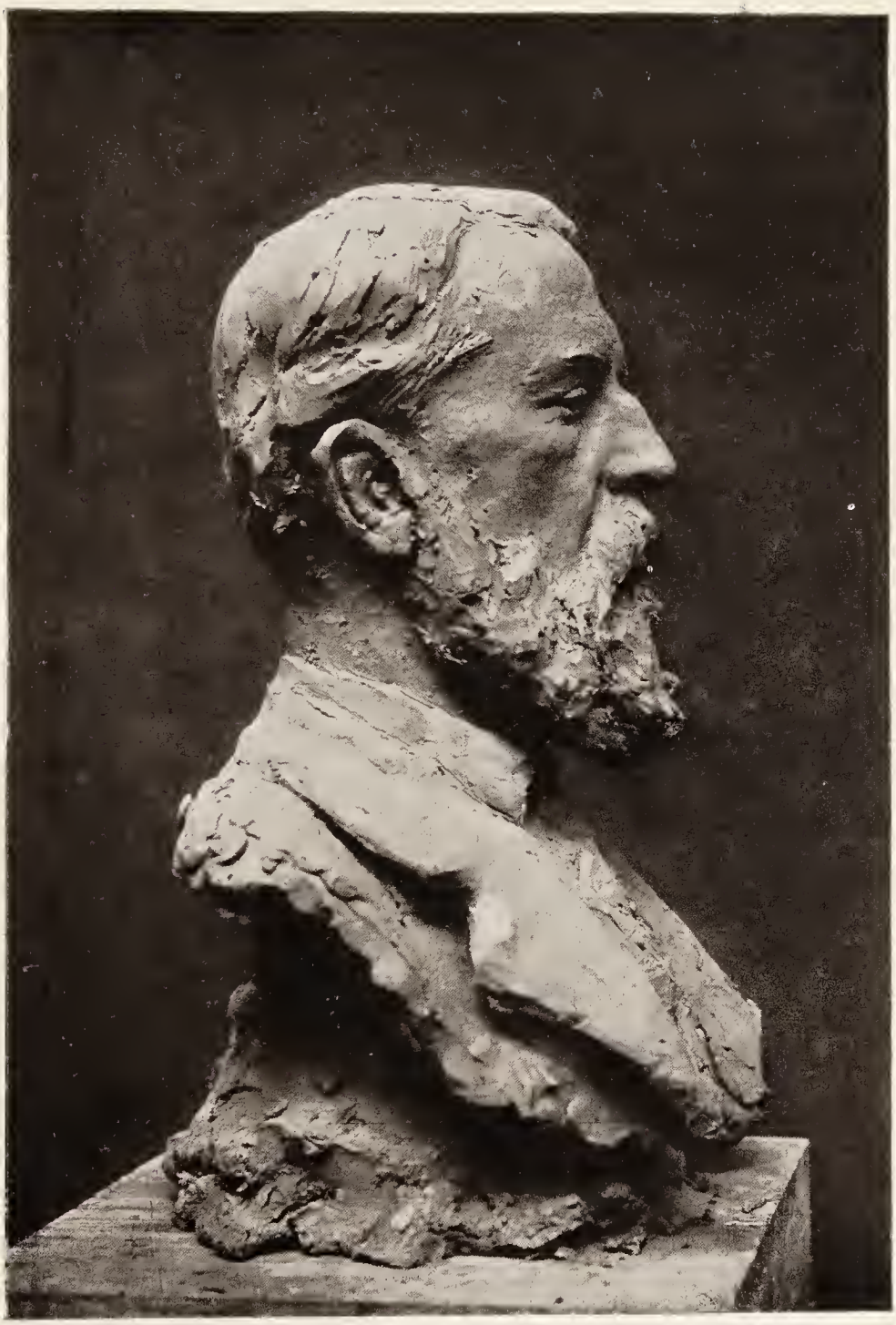
The Prime Minister's health continues a matter of grave concern; Mrs. Buxton told me his weakness was such that the effort of washing his face and hands in the morning left him in a state of prostration all the forenoon.

March 22nd.—We dined last night with the Beauchamps, Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein, the Austrian Ambassador, two Russians who are over here with the Empress, the Halsburys, Londonderry, Lord Fitzmaurice, Lady Kenmare, and others. I was between the last-named and Mrs. Maurice Glyn. The anticipation of coming evil seems to possess friends and foes of the Government, but I cannot think their plight so desperate that a strong man taking the situation in hand with the firm resolve to get rid of a great deal of lumber, could not bring it round. Concentration is wanted in their programme and consolidation

in their ranks. Lord Halsbury, whom I talked to after dinner, did not think the Lord Chancellor would hesitate to serve under Asquith. He had some incisive remarks on the recent *fracas* in the Law Courts between Knox and Roskill, both King's Counsel, whose mutual dislike broke out in active hostilities, Finlay and Fitzgerald having to separate them. The Judge, A. T. Lawrence, was just about to enter, but, peeping in and seeing what was going on, with infinite wisdom withdrew. The Benchers have only inflicted the modest penalty of an apology to be "screened" in the Hall of each Inn.

March 24th.—News reached us this morning that the Duke of Devonshire was dead. As was said later in the afternoon, the last of an heroic epoch is gone. It is indeed too true, the noblest and most commanding figure in contemporary politics has passed away. The gap he makes may be measured by the littleness of those who would seek to fill it. There were many qualified to give more glib expression to the current ideas of the time, there was none so able to weigh them in the balance of criticism and assign their permanent value. It was characteristic of the Duke's intellect to try doctrine in the crucible of experimental logic, and he never subscribed to opinion that failed to pass that test. In the course of eight years' close association with him at that period of his career when his position was most assured and authoritative, I had the amplest opportunity of watching the movements of his thought and measuring the weight of his conclusions, and I have no hesitation in saying that never was a more sagacious mind applied to the solution of political problems and never did more tremendous industry at getting to the bottom of them crystallise in judgment of such penetrating and abiding force. With his strong sense of duty there was combined a candour of conscience rare in the statesmen of any age.

The scene in the House of Lords was very striking. No notice could of course be given of the leader's intention to say anything, but, although the news of the Duke's death had hardly been in circulation for four hours, all came prepared to hear his epitaph, and the great majority of them in mourning. Lord Ripon, risen from a sick bed, in a voice that resounded through the chamber with the peculiar sonority of a muffled bell, pronounced an unstinted eulogy of the dead statesman, referring very simply to the fact that the first office he held in 1866 had been that of Under-Secretary for War, when Lord R. was Secretary of State, and there was something that struck a note of sympathy in this personal reminiscence of one six years older than he whom the House mourned. Lord Lansdowne then broke the elegiac silence in a voice that betrayed deep emotion: indeed, so little was he master of himself that his usual polished sentences suffered much under the strain, and his speech was not on the



From Bust by J. Tweed.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.

customary pitch of accomplishment. It was perhaps some consciousness of this that impelled Lord Rosebery to intervene, ostensibly to give utterance to the feelings of the cross benches where the Duke generally sat. He summarised his political character with profound *justesse*, declaring that a "great reserve force" had disappeared, and, in describing his oratory, confessed that we could spare a dozen rhetoricians better than one speaker of his type. He allowed—which the two preceding speakers had hardly done—his own feeling of personal affection to appear, for that, after all, was the note that those who knew the Duke well most desired to see struck; his political reputation belongs to history, the qualities that endeared him to his friends can only live in the records of their praise. Lord Rosebery excited some surprise by moving the adjournment of the House, thus taking the leadership out of the hands of the two front benches, but he did not incorrectly gauge the feeling of the House, which at once acceded to the suggestion. The Duke's position was such that he may well have thought it one of those moments which make precedents, and, as Lord Rosebery said, it was the only way in which the House, as a body, could pay special respect to a great name: and he might have added that there was no one who had such pre-eminent claims to the prestige of that hereditary principle which it is the particular pride of the Chamber to illustrate and adorn.

March 28th.—I went down to Chatsworth for the Duke's funeral. At St. Pancras I met the Duke of Rutland, who asked me and Riversdale Walrond to share his carriage, and we had luncheon together, so that the journey was by no means tedious. Fortunately, the day was one of unclouded sunshine, and the keen March air of the Derbyshire Highlands fairly tempered. A great concourse of people was gathered round Edensor Church, and the building itself was thronged, the space reserved for the house party being barely sufficient. The Duchess displayed extraordinary fortitude in not only coming to the church, but insisting on being present at the graveside, though she so far yielded to pressure as to make the ascent of the churchyard, some two hundred yards, in a bath-chair. From this, the highest point in the sacred enclosure, a lovely view was open across the valley to the house, and beyond to the moorlands that bound the landscape to the north. The service was very simple, and went directly to the heart of those who mourned the silent figure in its coffined repose. I was standing within a few feet of the grave, and in full view of the principal group before it. The Duchess stood leaning on Victor Cavendish's arm, whose wife was beside him; Charles Montagu supported his mother on the other side, with Stanley at his elbow: it appears the poor lady was very weak, having had a bad fall the previous day, just as she was

entering the house, and it seemed a question whether she might not collapse at any moment. Stanley showed deep emotion. What struck me most of all was the directness and sincerity of feeling displayed on all sides, and yet with a dignified restraint thoroughly in keeping with the habitual composure of him who was gone. It is difficult to sum up in a phrase the solemn passion evoked by such a scene, but in a sense it seemed as if the storied pride of a great line had reached its culmination in the life and death before us, and, as the hills on all sides inclined towards the Duke's last resting-place, I felt the force and grandeur of the epitaph which the Greek historian places in the mouth of the Attic orator:

ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.

April 3rd.—Lord James has a curious story about the Duke's last moments which has an air of probability. It is said that during that long night when the pulses of life were running low, his mind began to wander a little and he was heard to mutter something which showed that it was occupied with reminiscences of bridge. Then, turning on his side, he exclaimed, "Thank goodness the game is over!" and passed away. How many have passed, and will continue to pass, with the same sigh of relief!

April 6th.—The Prime Minister's resignation, which was announced last night, takes no one by surprise. His weakness was such that he had the gravest difficulty in putting his hand to the necessary communication to the King. I had to go round to see the Lord Chancellor early this morning, who spoke with great concern about the event. Though he dilated upon his own desire for repose, he admitted that he had no intention of going, as his health is better, and the circumstances of the last two years have contributed to bring him into closer accord with the right wing of the Government. The attacks to which he has been exposed for the firm front maintained against the desire of the Radicals to job the Magistracy have no doubt had something to say to it, but insight into the public motives of his opponents has not been without its effect, and at least on one question which divides men acutely his influence is all on the side of compromise. Indeed, I was surprised at the emphasis he gave to his moderate views on the Education Question: he said that he had never lost an opportunity of impressing upon the Cabinet that the Nonconformist point of view, at least in its extreme form, was as untenable as anything that could be advanced by the most violent churchman, and he was very outspoken on the disaster it would be for the country if, in despair, recourse should be had to the secular solution. He told me of a curious conversation

he had had with a great Tory magnate in the West of England, who, after the failure of the Bill of 1906, had been to see him on some magistrate's business. This peer, commenting upon the division which rejected Crewe's offer of compromise, declared that the majority had great misgivings and were rather entrapped into this position by the appeal made to their party allegiance, which, in the absence of any directing force of organised opinion on the other side, was bound to prevail. A good story is told of Birrell's reply to someone who, at the holiday season, asked him if he was going to spend it in Ireland. "No," he said, "in France ; I prefer a country with which we have an *entente cordiale*." This jesting, however witty, at the expense of his own reputation as an administrator, causes more annoyance than amusement.

Lord Crewe told me the last official act of Campbell-Bannerman was to sign the submission of his name to the King for the vacant Garter. He well deserves it, and I share his satisfaction that the Garter, so worthily worn by the Duke of Devonshire, now becomes his.

April 8th.—Lord Crewe confirmed the statement in one of the newspapers that he was destined for the Colonial Office, though how the matter obtained publicity appeared to him inconceivable, as only four persons were aware of it, from which I gathered that the person most interested, viz. the present Secretary of State, had not as yet been consulted.

April 9th.—We had a Council this afternoon in the Lord Chancellor's room in the House of Lords (in the Palace of Westminster, as I described it in the Press notices), to dispose of two Orders which were required to complete the War Office arrangements for the constitution of the Territorial Army and the assignment of the various militia units to their new functions. Haldane was present, Granard, Causton, and George Russell, the last delighted to take his place at the Board. He had written to Crewe to the effect that he should now sit down while the "Lords of the Council" are prayed for in church.

I walked back to the office with Haldane, who admitted without any reserve that Elgin was quite unconscious of the fate awaiting him. I remarked it was a curious incident of Asquith's accession to the Premiership that his old Balliol contemporary should be so unceremoniously shunted. He seemed surprised, and asked if Elgin had been anything of a scholar.

The success of the Territorial Army was, he said, assured ; the fact of organised lines of national defence having been substituted for a mass of unorganised units like the Volunteers has, he said, appealed to the imagination of the people, and recruits recognised for the first time that, in belonging to the new force, they really formed part of a living and organic whole.

April 11th.—Lord Crewe dined with Asquith on his return

last night, and was in a position to explain to me the changes to be effected at the Council next week. The main points are that Lloyd George goes to the Exchequer, Winston succeeds him, and McKenna takes the Admiralty. Asquith thinks it essential that the Heads of both the great spending Departments should be in the House of Commons, and, looking to the weakness of the representatives of the Admiralty in that assembly, one cannot be surprised at his decision. The difficulty is Tweedmouth, who is asked to become Lord President (Crewe going to the Colonial Office), but hesitates, partly from wounded *amour-propre* and partly because he would be required to take a considerable share in the general business of the Government, which he is disinclined to do. Crewe thought the objections might be got over, but, if they proved insurmountable, he would retain the Lord Presidency, in addition to the Colonial Seals. He told me the reason for Elgin's removal was not discontent with his administration of the Department, which he believed to be admirable, but because he never opened his lips in Council, except in regard to matters connected with his own office; and, secondly, because he was of no use in general debate. That is at the present moment the principal difficulty of the Government in the House of Lords, and it will not be removed by the translation of J. Morley and Fowler thereto, as J. Morley has made known his intention to confine his interventions in debate to Indian questions, and Fowler is too old to be of any use.

April 14*th*.—The aspect of Cabinet-making from inside does not increase one's esteem for politicians. An *arpeggio* of ambitions, intrigues, and chicanery. Never was anything more blunt and ill-mannered than Elgin's dismissal. He had not seen the statement in "The Daily Chronicle" that it was imminent, and Asquith's letter found him absolutely unprepared. That letter conveyed the baldest intimation that the claims of younger men could not be satisfied without the surrender of his office; it contained no acknowledgment of Elgin's departmental services, and, by way of adding insult to injury, finished with the query: "What about a Marquessate?" It is needless to say the suggestion was declined with scorn, as for any man of spirit it could only accentuate the resentment caused by the whole transaction. Crewe is very concerned about it, as he of course is the one who, in the eye of the world, immediately profits, the object really being to get Tweedmouth away from the Admiralty; but I wish he could have seen that the Prime Minister's communication was made with some grace.

It fell to me to write to Elgin this afternoon, acquainting him with the arrangements for the Council before which he must attend for the surrender of the Seals: a task of some delicacy, which I hope I performed with all possible regard for an old

friend's feelings. I have at any rate done him some service by obtaining from Crewe a promise to write to Knollys and secure that he should not meet his late colleagues when he repairs to Buckingham Palace on Thursday, by which means his sensitiveness may be spared.

April 15th.—Elgin wrote feelingly and gratefully in acknowledgment of my efforts to spare him all the mortification possible. "Many thanks," he said, "for your considerate kindness. I should naturally prefer to be polished off by myself, though in the rough and tumble of life one must harden oneself to many things."

It was decided to summon Lord Morley in order that he might have an opportunity of thanking the King for his peerage. He accepted the invitation with alacrity.

April 16th.—Tweedmouth came to the Privy Council Office at 3.30 in order to be coached in the part he had to play at the Council. He seemed nervous and ill at ease, as if he felt himself called upon for some explanation which he could not give. I had bestowed more than usual pains on giving everybody their cue, and I had reason to think all would go well, when the new Lord President very nearly tied the whole thing up in a knot by attempting to read the list without putting on his glasses and then omitting a necessary feature of the procedure.

Asquith seemed very pleased with his good fortune, and is acquiring some ease, almost grace of manner, which was not among his early refinements. Strong he undoubtedly is, and if he has learnt to be not only generous, but at times even gentle, he may do much to cement a new party allegiance.

Elgin reached the Palace undisturbed and entered the Presence by a separate door, so that his reception was kept quite apart from the rest of the day's business. The King gave each of the new Cabinet Ministers an audience, as well as John Morley.

April 18th–27th.—We spent Easter with the Duke of Grafton at Wakefield, nominally for the Grafton Hunt Steeplechases, which took place at Towcester on Easter Monday in the midst of whirlwinds of snow. The extreme severity of the spring had made everything so late that the glades of Whittlebury Forest were as brown as in mid-winter, but nothing can altogether destroy the charm of woodland scenery. Within two months of completing his eighty-seventh year, the Duke is a marvel of vigour and alacrity. His interest in modern enterprise is so keen that he has ordered a motor to be delivered in a few weeks, and met the expostulations of his sister, who has just reached ninety, with the remark that he did not see, because he was eighty-six, why he should refuse to take advantage of the development of science. He still drives a pair of horses.

I went from Wakefield on the 24th to Sherborne in Warwick-

shire, and was there during the severest snowstorm on record for the month of April. In other parts of England it was much worse, but with us it snowed incessantly for twenty-four hours.

On Monday I was taken by Lady Katherine Drummond to Charlcote, the ancient home of the Lucys. Built in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, it is approached by a gate-house of extraordinary beauty, which is connected with the main structure by a formal garden enclosed in brick walls surmounted by lace-like stonework of great delicacy. The front of the house, looking upon the garden, is not as regular as in some houses of the time, but it is none the less lovely. Indeed, I have rarely seen any place which from this aspect pleased me more, and, from the cursory inspection I was able to make of the interior, it seemed rich in interest of historic and artistic value. The Avon sweeps under its walls.

May 2nd.—Tweedmouth's mind is still somewhat ill at ease over the possible consequences of the change which has befallen him. He was inclined to complain this morning that he was expected to answer for the new Board of Admiralty in the House of Lords, as he feared that he might be called on to defend a policy which was opposed to that he had himself pursued, an indication that the Government's naval programme was subject to controversy.

May 5th.—The King insisted upon a Council to-day before the private investiture of Crewe and Tweedmouth as Knights of the Garter and Thistle. It gave, however, the Lord Chamberlain's department an opportunity of showing what immense importance it could attach to trifles, and brought together officers of the two Orders whose business it is to wrap complacency in an air of unutterable awe.

Althorp's official scruples were excited by the question whether it would be right to bring his wand into Council—a point I settled for him in the negative, as I am sure he would never have settled it for himself.

We dined with Lady St. Helier, a party of extraordinary heterogeneity: Sir Percy and Lady Girouard, he a French Canadian, she the daughter of a Transvaal Jew; Lady Tweeddale, Hudson, the Manager of the Liberal Party, Somers Somerset and Lady Kitty, Mason, ex-actor, novelist, and M.P., Hohler, late Secretary of Legation in Abyssinia, Mrs. Hugh Fraser, and Morpeth, and the Editor of "The Daily Mail," who had an air in keeping with the pretensions of the paper. As it was the day of the Wolverhampton election, the excitement of the politicians was at its height: Hudson justified his reputation for accurate forecasts by predicting the victory of the Ministerialist, but he had not anticipated the extreme narrowness of the majority.

May 6th.—We saw Suzanne Després in "La Rafale": not a

great play, but it is long since I have seen acting of such high power and finished quality: she was, in fact, far greater than her part. To the gifts of a troubling personality and a recondite charm, she added the power to sweep the whole gamut of emotion informed by an intelligence which never slept. Bernard Shaw, who occupied an adjoining stall, provided us with a great deal of entertainment during each *entr'acte*: "These Frenchwomen," he said, "make us forget the artificialities and absurdities of the play in the sincerity and naturalness of their acting": and no criticism could have been sounder in application to the performance we were witnessing. It was just that: the consummate simplicity, the daring directness of the appeal, all the complex machinery of the art being kept out of sight, or at any rate not allowed to disturb the force of the impression. G. B. S. was there, he told us, in order to satisfy himself that she would be able to interpret "Mrs. Warren's Profession" to a Parisian audience: a very few minutes left him in no doubt as to her competence to undertake any rôle he could invent.

May 15*th*.—We saw Suzanne Després again last night in "Denise," which gave her one great opportunity in the heroine's confession at the end of the third Act, one of the most moving things I ever witnessed, in its quiet force, absolute sincerity, and overwhelming pathos. Dumas is somewhat *démodé* to-day, and his sermons are perhaps a little too obvious, but the literary spell remains, and, with a great interpreter, a dead convention matters little. Besides, I shall always owe him some affection for the touching eulogy pronounced upon the grave of Aimée Desclée, the charm of whose personality survives in all his creations. The wonder lay in the neglect of London to see such marvellous art: we have experience of the antics it enjoys; animal savagery and corybantic lust under the forms of Sicilian drama and Idumæan dancing, but I believe there is no cultivated society so destitute of the instinct of beauty, and so incapable of forming its own judgment on the things of the spirit.

May 23*rd*.—The sensation of the week has been Tweedmouth's breakdown. In Crewe's absence he had to take command of the House on Monday, and in a debate on the Army, he confessed that Haldane's scheme was at the best a gamble, laying himself open to Lord Lansdowne's obvious retort, "was he to understand that it was the policy of the Government to gamble with the safety of the nation?" More, however, was to follow. On Tuesday Lord Halifax had a series of questions on the paper relating to one of the least defensible of McKenna's administrative acts. Tweedmouth's supersession by McKenna at the Admiralty has naturally left him very sore towards that gentleman and indisposed to do more than make the most perfunctory defence in his behalf. He had been provided with a typewritten

memo., the limits of which it was suggested he would do well not to exceed; whereupon, taking these instructions in their most literal sense, he read the document *verbatim*. Moreover, he prefaced his speech by an exordium, almost incoherent with temper, in which he appeared to confuse his official position as Lord President with his liability to reply for the Board, declared he had no official knowledge of the matter, and indulged in some acrimonious jocularities at the expense of the Privy Council and its functions, as concentrated in the hands of the Lord President, who, he announced, "has nothing to do." Those who followed him in debate were naturally severe on these utterances, and there was the greatest difficulty in masking his retreat. He was good enough to give me his own account of the affair the next day; he was perfectly courteous and evidently desirous to make the best apology for himself he could, but he had in effect little to say that altered the complexion of the story as gathered from the public prints, and all that did appear of an exculpatory character was the bitter jealousy he entertained towards McKenna and his resentment at being "sacked." Personally I think he is failing visibly, and Alderson, one of the Clerks at the Table, assures me that it is matter there of common notice how impotent his grasp of facts has become, and how often he falls short of coherent or even articulate expression.

May 26th.—Tweedmouth's state has rapidly become worse, and there is no concealment of the fact that he is quite irresponsible. Hope saw him on Friday just before his interview with Asquith, and thought him so wild that, if there had been time, he would have apprised the Prime Minister what to expect. When he reached the Prime Minister's room he was very violent; but of course Asquith at once grasped the case and dealt with him as gently as possible. On the following morning he was much worse, using his knowledge of Cabinet secrets recklessly and indulging in the bitterest language against those at whose hands he had suffered real or fancied wrongs.

May 28th.—Yesterday I was with the Chancellor to consider the steps that should be taken to provide for the discharge of those duties which, under Statute or other instruments, devolve on the Lord President personally. There is no precedent for dealing with such a situation, but the Lord Chancellor was prepared to take the responsibility for the same course of action that would be pursued if the Holder of the Great Seal was incapacitated, and has, in fact, been followed when for any cause he is out of the kingdom, and asked me to prepare the draft of a commission under the Great Seal for the appointment of persons to act in his behalf: these I proposed should be the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Crewe, to which he agreed.

Ilbert, whom I saw this morning, told me a curious fact illus-

trating the lack of forethought which characterised proceedings on the resignation of the late Prime Minister. It appears that no intimation of the King's intention to charge Asquith with the Premiership reached him till the morning of his departure for Biarritz: otherwise he could have met Parliament with the commission in his pocket, and the adjournment for ten days might have been obviated. As it was, he could not press for the continuance of the business of the Session under the control of what was in fact nothing but a committee of caretakers.

June 2nd.—I submitted my draft for putting the duties of the Lord President into commission to the Chancellor; he has scruples about the legality of the proceedings, and, though he had recommended it, he would not allow me to say more to the Prime Minister than that he was prepared to attach the Great Seal to the instrument. In laying the Letters Patent before the King for his signature, I avoided difficulty by asking approval as a matter of course without raising questions of constitutional propriety, and the King was good enough to assume I was acting with sufficient authority, and attached his name unhesitatingly.

June 4th.—Council to-day for the disposal of all outstanding business before the King's departure for Russia. Lord Crewe took the Council, Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Sinclair, who were originally summoned, being supplemented at the last moment by Dudley, whom I had orders to call for the purpose of receiving the Broad Ribbon of St. Michael and St. George.

While at luncheon at Epsom on the Derby Day, the King had a telegram stating that the sender's wife had presented him with a son on the day of Persimmon's victory, and, as she had done the same that morning, he hoped it would be of good augury for the success of Perrier. Unfortunately for His Majesty, the double event was not repeated.

June 18th.—Went to the Opera for the *début* of Cavalieri in Puccini's "Manon Lescaut," which, with all its squalid elements, remains one of the world's immortal love stories. Cavalieri's appearance excited extraordinary interest, as, apart from her lovely features, of the purest Italian type, recalling Malibran in her prime, the story of her life, with its personal and artistic vicissitudes, is of no little singularity. She was singing, so Rutland told me, eighteen years ago at the Folies Bergères, and her emergence from the music-hall into grand opera is of quite recent date. Notwithstanding some obvious limitations to her vocal resources, she commanded immediate recognition by the grace and sincerity of her rendering of the music, and soon won the eager approbation of the audience by the force and sympathy of her acting. She was at her best in the more emotional passages, and charmed by the signal revelation of a magnetic personality.

A member of the War Office gave me a most gloomy picture

of the confusion which reigns in the military organisation under the fine-spun eloquence of the Secretary of State. He regards Haldane as a sophistical rhetorician who has alternately cajoled and bewildered his military advisers, and has ended by convincing himself that the dexterities of the conjurer are the inspirations of genius. In my friend's opinion you can do anything with soldiers, whose first idea is to obey orders and the second to get as much as they can for themselves out of it. He sums up the changes of the last two years as nothing but an elaborate mystification by means of which new names have been employed to conceal the retention of old ideas, and declares that the limits of the nation's credulity have almost been reached. Indeed, according to him, they would have been overstepped long ago, had not, by the complicity of all concerned, most sedulous pains been taken to obscure the fact and divert enquiry into the blindest channels. Such are the lengths to which a rash and reckless tongue may go.

June 21st.—The Stage Society entertained Coquelin at their annual dinner. At the request of the Executive, I had obtained Lord Fitzmaurice's services as Chairman, and Sir Arthur Nicolson and Lord Sanderson were also present, and Lady Maria Welby came as my guest. The speeches of the evening proved a great success. Fitzmaurice, who passed into French when he touched his principal topic, dealt with Coquelin's life and public career in passages of great delicacy and charm : his allusions to the part played by the great actor in " l'année terrible," when he electrified the worn defenders upon the ramparts of Paris by his declamation of patriotic verse, and his brother received the decoration for valour, aroused great enthusiasm. His identification of the man with his various parts provided the audience with the muster-roll of his successes and conveyed a compliment more signal and more sure than any conventional praise. He referred at the end to the pleasure it gave him to meet " the impersonator of these great parts," and saluted Coquelin as one who quitted Paris by the Porte St. Antoine to leave London by the Arc de Triomphe. So apt and so eloquent was the oratory that it seemed as if the genius of the French language, which after all is his mother-tongue, had transformed the orator. Not the least of the pleasure in listening to it was derived from watching the responsive play of appreciation on Coquelin's vivid countenance, as he listened with marked interest and attention.

Coquelin, who had refused to make a *discours*, supplied its place with as simple and direct a picce of natural eloquence as could well be imagined. To a society which, in its productions, has identified itself with the heterodox and the subversive, he announced himself " un vieux classique," and put in a moving plea for " la poésie et la vérité," as the permanent inspiration of a great theatre in the forms in which it was to be found in the

masterpieces of the past. In the glorification of a free theatre, " do not," he said, " degrade it to the amphitheatre of an autopsy : make it a joy, a diversion, a consolation, and not a clinic. Teach me the lesson of life," he added almost solemnly, " not as if I were going to a duty, but a pleasure."

My wife sat next him at dinner, and their conversation confirmed the impression of sincerity and absence of all affectation which characterised his speech. Whereas actors too often offer you the choice of grimace or imposture, with Coquelin were no posture and no humbug. With a definite devotion to a high ideal, he had made it his business to adhere to it, and to preach the same lofty gospel to others. It appears that Gambetta had sought to induce him to take up politics, and 70 per cent. of the electors in one *arrondissement* were ready to acclaim his candidature. He admitted the strength of the temptation, for, after all, politics was *le grand jeu*, but had never repented his refusal ; his art was his life, and he could not do better with his life than give it unreservedly to his art.

June 26th.—At the birthday parade this morning I had more than thirty people in the Privy Council garden : Lady Bathurst brought three children ; Sir A. and Lady Nicolson and daughter ; Lady Ampthill and boy (such a good-looking one !) ; Lady Helmsley and her little girl ; Lady Airlie and Lady Helen Ogilvie, Dick Neville, Raglan and his daughter, Lady Hampden and her boy, Mrs. Adeane and daughter, Lady Kerry, Miss Bagot, Lady Maria Welby and Miss Welby, and a few others. It was a lovely day, though the sun grew hot before the ceremony was over. I was rather dully placed at Herbert Gladstone's dinner in the evening between the Common Serjeant and a H.O. Official, but I had an opportunity before we sat down of talking to the Lord Chancellor about his alleged intention to resign. He attributed the report to the diligence of a small but malignant section of the party in the House of Commons, of which he regretted to say Sir Charles Dilke was the ringleader. He was neither terrified nor disturbed by their malevolence, as such elements of baseness were to be found in every political party, and he should not even take the trouble to deny the rumours for which they were responsible.

June 27th–30th.—At Southampton on board the " Aldebaran." We sailed each day in the " Concara," a cutter of 16 tons fitted with a motor. We went down to Yarmouth on Sunday and saw the hull of the " Gladiator " on its beam ends, which they hope to raise at the next spring-tide. Next day we drew towards Portsmouth, and had a good view of the Fleet, which is collecting in the roadstead. The shores of the Solent were veiled in a soft haze, which added the subtle spell of distance to the incantations of sun and wind, and the sea was bright with the sparkle of a myriad rays. In such conditions, sailing is the most delightful

of pastimes, for it blends reverie with the keener elements of enjoyment.

July 4th.—Council at Buckingham Palace, at which the Privy Councillors whose appointments were notified on the King's birthday, were sworn, and also Gerard Lowther on obtaining the Embassy at Constantinople. Crewe took the Council for the Lord President, and Fitzmaurice, Gerard, and Haversham were present. I drove back with Fitzmaurice, who had been detained by the King, to give him some information about Persia. He has little hope of the country's amelioration unless the Shah is got rid of, who is violent but incapable, and his uncle substituted, a friend to England and the only statesman in Persia.

July 14th.—I was talking to Frank Lascelles this afternoon about his approaching retirement, which he could not deny would be a wrench, but he said: " I shall carry with me into private life the consolatory reflection that whereas I have had incalculable opportunities for doing mischief, I don't think I have done much."

There is a grave scandal in the Colonial Office, a Supervisor of the Copying Department lying under the gravest suspicion of having habitually sold secrets to the Press. He has not yet been charged, the case against him not having been quite completed, but the web has been woven round him so securely that there is no chance of escape. The newspaper implicated only gave his name upon the promise that the matter would not be made the subject of prosecution, so that the police remain outside the steps that are being taken to bring his guilt home, and the penalty will be confined to summary dismissal. The *modus operandi* appears to have been through meetings in low public-houses, never the same twice in succession, with some vile hack who is the medium selected by such newspapers as do this kind of business, for suborning the baser type of public servant. In this case there is reason to believe that the leak has been going on for some time.

July 21st.—I dined on guard with Jack Harvey ; March was in the chair, and Lord Freddy Hamilton was dining with his nephew John, which afforded us a good deal of amusement. John Hamilton has a particularly charming manner, and there was a boy from the Blues, a son of the Knight of Kerry, whom I also thought a very pleasant type of young fellow. It was an occasion for the study of youth at the hands of a very mellow experience.

July 25th.—At Osterley this afternoon, while I was giving her and Lady Jersey tea, I had the chance of hearing Lady Londonderry on the comparative values which a man or woman's opportunities lend to life. She had no hesitation in pronouncing for the advantages offered a man, and endorsed without reserve Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's declaration that the only good of being a woman was that you could not marry one. She said

almost in as many words that she would have vastly preferred to play a man's part rather than have devoted her talents to the tasks which lie before a woman. I ventured to suggest that there were moments at least in some women's lives which gave a thrill of exultation beyond anything the success of a man's ambitions could bestow, inasmuch as the sense of achievement realised itself behind the veil of feeling and emotion, and was therefore of a more spiritual and immaterial character.

July 26th.—I went down to Osterley again this afternoon at Lady Jersey's request, and stayed to dinner. There is no place where the mellow features of a July evening suffuse feeling with such contented affluence. The party had a large preponderance of men, but Lady Jersey's gifts as a hostess render every social obligation on the part of her guests a tribute to her talent of selection.

July 27th.—Fleetwood Wilson's appointment as Finance Member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta is a signal instance of Lord Morley's breadth of view. They were unknown to each other till they met on a Committee to determine the liability of India to the War Office for military services, at which it was Fleetwood's business to champion the claims of the latter, a thing he did so effectually that the contribution of India was increased by £300,000. When first sent for by Lord Morley, he thought it was intended to reopen this matter, and was immensely surprised at being asked if he was willing to go to India. He then told Lord Morley that, as far as his reputation for finance was concerned, he was a thorough fraud, only hoping to conceal his incompetence for another three years, when he would be entitled to retire. Lord Morley laughed heartily at this, and ultimately prevailed on him to accept the appointment, subject to the Treasury's recognising his right to a pension upon his present services. Discontent with the War Office has weighed with him in taking the risks of going to India for the first time at fifty-seven.

August 1st.—Council at Goodwood, to wind up business before the recess; Crewe, Althorp and Runciman went down with me by special train, and Denman met us there. It had been intended that Granard should come, but at the last moment he cried off, as he had to catch the "Mauretania" at Liverpool, whence he is going to New York in the company of Mrs. Ogden Mills and her daughters.

Goodwood was looking lovely in the broad August sunshine, and the wealth of its foliage was never more resplendent. Most of the party were gone, and the King and Queen seemed quite one with the family gathering that remained. The King, ready for his voyage to Cowes, was in an undress Admiral of the Fleet uniform, which looked a little out of place upon the lawns of

Goodwood. However, he seemed in capital health and spirits, and full of *bonhomie*.

Luncheon was a very pleasant interval, at three tables: the King at one, the Queen at another, and the Princess Victoria at the third, at which I sat, with Althorp, Davidson, Holford, Lady Muriel Beckwith and Lady Bernard Lennox. There are some fine pictures in the room, a lovely Romney over the chimney-piece, to which the King particularly directed my attention. The Duke was very civil in showing me things connected with the Caroline epoch, of which there are some of great interest, including the finest picture painted of Charles II and the admirable miniature by Cooper. There are also two very fine Vandykes, and pictures without end of the Dukes and Duchesses of Richmond. The house itself is ugly, and would have been uglier if death had not frustrated the design of the third Duke to mask the old building by an hexagonal shell, only three sides of which are complete. The rooms, however, are agreeable in shape and aspect, but command no distant prospect.

Lady Salisbury came back to London with us, which enabled her to reach Hatfield for dinner.

August 3rd–8th.—We spent this week at Euston, which I had not seen since the fire. The internal arrangements of the house, which had not been disturbed since their description by John Evelyn, have been improved by doing away with passage rooms and creating a broad corridor which makes a good picture gallery, but the decoration leaves much to be desired. The Duke is a marvellous instance of octogenarian activity, and, now that he has a motor, no longer regards his eighty-seven years as any bar to being constantly on the move. The lawns and gardens have the charm of wide horizons broken with groups of beautiful timber. I was taken over to see Elveden, a huge edifice on the model of a public institution with a dome of gilded lead. Hard by is a church, the ancient beauty of which has been overlaid with ornament in a most prodigal manner.

August 15th.—After Sunday at Lydhurst with Lady Tweeddale and two days at Frogmore, I returned to London to finish the business in connection with the last Council, and yesterday came to Shaw House, Newbury, whose walls, which time has mellowed, and cloistral gardens invite repose and a sense of the futility of much that consumes life.

August 19th–27th.—Eight days at Ammerdown gave me an even stronger conviction of rest; though the weather was very dubious, intervals of sunshine lit up the gardens which I love. Here at least I always find a fitting background to the higher order of sensation, an incentive to dwell on those aspects of nature which appeal to the haunting desire of something immaterial. The vivid personality, whose presence is so subtly interfused

Photo by H. Legg.

GOODWOOD.

with the surrounding elements of external beauty, counts for so much : the wild wood graee of a captive dryad, subdued to the conventions of the twentieth century, clings to her still, and in all she does something of the Golden Age is hid. Her children, too, add to the charm of the picture, of which she is the centre.

August 28*th*–*September* 8*th*.—At Rushmore, where the Pitt-Rivers's have recently installed themselves, we enjoyed a hospitable shelter for all this time. The beauty of the situation, on a spur of the downs at thc edge of Cranborne Chase, and the antiquarian interests with which the neighbourhood was endowed by thc researches of the late eccentric owner, provide eye and mind with plentiful objects of pursuit. Mrs. Pitt-Rivers is a delightful hostess of the type that relies largely on Providence, with a very bright and intelligent little daughter. The view from the top of the down covers the whole coast from the Needles to the Isle of Purbeck, and to the north along the grcat folds of Salisbury Plain with its western termination in the wooded slopes that are spread beneath Stourton tower. The glades of the Chase are cut so as to show its manifold beauties, and the abrupt undulations of the ground give them the mystery of some fantastic maze.

September 8*th*–12*th*.—With Spencer Chapman on board the "Aldebaran." Leaving Poole for Weymouth, we encountered such a heavy gale that we took shelter at Swanage, where we remained two nights. One afternoon we spent at Corfe, where Mrs. Bentinck showed us the remarkable additions they had made to their sixteenth-century house, decorated with Renaissance panelling from Padua and emblazoned Spanish tapestry of very ancient date.

Running round to Weymouth, the sea on the race off Durleston was very disturbed, a seething ferment of breakers, which, from the low level of our observation, looked limitless; but before we reached our haven the wind had fallen to nothing. Mackerel fishing on the way proved a profitless occupation.

September 13*th*–18*th*.—After two days at Frogmore I spent three in London to pick up the strings of business, and learnt that the Colonial Office was fussing about a Council to cancel the Order of last September relating to Newfoundland; but, as its operation has been suspended by the introduction of the new arrangcment with the United States, I hope it may be allowed to stand over until the King's return to London.

September 18*th*–25*th*.—I had not been here (Duncombe Park) three days before I had to abandon this hope and accept a summons to Balmoral for a Council on the 26th, which will involvc rcmaining over Sunday. However, it left me undisturbed for the party which assembled on thc 21st for the field operations on the Hambleton Hills under the gcneral direction of Sir R. Oliphant, who with his wife and daughter were in the house, together with

Bernard Lennox on the staff, Hugh and Lady Ada Fitzwilliam, Lady Helmsley, and the Dick Lawsons. The weather on Wednesday was magnificent, and I rode up to the battle area with Lady Helmsley. We found a party from Newburgh there, whom Sir George Wombwell, to spare the horses, had refused to send more than half-way up the hill, whence they had to walk under a hot sun. Our time was principally spent in the vain search for Charles Helmsley's troop of Yeomanry, which took us a long distance to the left of the position. I was glad, however, of the opportunity of seeing Byland Abbey, under the shadow of which we met a squadron of the enemy's cavalry, but came no nearer the object of our quest, and finally rode across the wild park in the lengthening shadows of sunset.

I was pleased to hear from Oliphant the very favourable opinion he had formed of the Territorials under his command. Of nine thousand West Riding men in camp at Redcar, no less than 80 per cent. had engaged for the whole fortnight, and, according to him, nothing could surpass the zeal, energy, and intelligence shown by the whole force.

September 26th.—On my way through York yesterday I met Ridley, who told me he had expected the result of the Newcastle election to be even more favourable to the Opposition, though he declared himself contented. I slept at Edinburgh, and fell in with John Sinclair on the way to Aberdeen. Rather at his invitation, I took occasion to dwell upon some of the causes which in my judgment were responsible for the Government's difficulties, and was rather surprised to discover how far he agreed with me. The tendency to raise questions which they could not settle, to attempt too much, in short, was, I believed, at the root of it; the area of attack was immensely widened, and in proportion the dissatisfaction of their own supporters was excited, in some quarters by the alleged inadequacy of their proposals, in others by the slowness with which they gave effect to them. Successive Liberal Ministries failed to take account of the altered conditions attending the machinery of legislation, and succumbed to the temptation of an easy profusion, whereas a laboured adjustment of ends to means should be their *mot d'ordre*.

From Aberdeen to Ballater I had the company of Fred Milner and his daughter, on their way to Mar Lodge. Arthur Paget and his son took one of the carriages at Ballater, and as Villalobar, who was expected, had not turned up, I had the other to myself. We were half an hour late, and, as Balmoral time is half an hour fast, I had very little margin on arrival to prepare for the Council, which was to take place when we were dressed for dinner. However, I managed to get down in time to have an interview with Sir E. Grey and post him in all that was necessary. The Duke of Connaught, the Prince of Wales, and Sir D. Probyn completed

the Council, which was soon over, the Prince of Wales as usual taking great interest in the Admiralty memorials, the King's connection with which I explained as one of the last vestiges of personal rule.

At dinner I found myself between John Ward and Sir D. Probyn, who spoke to me with great feeling of Nigel Kingscote's death. No one in our time had left to his friends a more gracious recollection of chivalrous feeling and high-minded sincerity.

September 27th.—Sunday at Balmoral is the longest day in recorded time: probably owing to the hours spent in waiting for what does not arrive. Villalobar, who motored out from Aberdeen, reaching Balmoral at 3 a.m., and H. Stonor, being Catholics, had a dispensation from church, but all the rest of the party attended the parish ministrations at Crathie. On our return we learnt we were expected in the ballroom, where an Aberdeen tradesman was offering woollen goods of Highland manufacture at exorbitant prices. The King was in a most munificent mood, lavishing gifts on his guests. I was included in his bounty to the extent of a motor wrapper for the neck, on the strength of which I felt impelled to buy a pair of gloves on my own account. The King told me he had received Tweedmouth's resignation, and that Lord Ripon had resigned the Privy Seal: assuming that the Prime Minister's arrangements were complete by that time, he would be willing, he said, to hold a Council on Monday, October 19th. After luncheon, where I sat between Arthur Paget and Villalobar, I had some conversation with Edward Grey as to Tweedmouth's successor, and ventured to suggest that Fitzmaurice might very properly be promoted, as he would be quite the most efficient lieutenant that Crewe could have, while continuing to represent the Foreign Office in the House of Lords, an Under-Secretary might be appointed with a seat in the House of Commons, which would be a great relief and assistance to him (Sir Edward). The idea had never struck him before, but he recognised its advantages and believed that, having regard to Fitzmaurice's unrivalled knowledge of foreign affairs, which was second only to that of Sanderson, the House would submit to the department being represented by one who was not a member of it. He told me, however, that the Prime Minister had a scheme which involved an altogether different arrangement, though there was some doubt whether the person principally concerned would be a party to it, in which case the less said the better.

Later I walked to Abergeldie with the two Pagets, returning to the Castle for a late tea.

Arthur Paget was even more outspoken than Oliphant in praise of Haldane's Army; while regretting that political exigencies had forced him to acquiesce in certain reductions, he declared

that in the forty years of his military experience there had not been any Secretary of State with so clear and well-thought-out conception of the basis upon which a British Army ought to be organised, or with the same resolute determination to give effect to his ideas, by and with the support of the most enlightened military opinion. He thought with time the Territorial Army would fully realise its purpose, and in the interval an enormous deal had been gained in giving it the forms of a coherent and homogeneous organisation.

At dinner I sat between Albert Paget and Sibbald, the Minister of Crathie, who, with his wife and Cameron Lees, who had preached the sermon, came to dinner. He rather surprised me by the information that circumstances were tending towards a union between the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church, the Anglicans being ready to accept the Presbytery as a proper conduit of episcopal grace, a kind of episcopacy in commission, and the Presbyterians being disposed to give one member of the Presbytery a qualified pre-eminence, which would in substance invest him with episcopal functions.

As I was to start early the following morning, I took leave of the King before he went to bed, and thanked him for his hospitality, including a haunch of venison he had desired I should have. His Majesty appears to great advantage at Balmoral; there is an easy *bonhomie* in his manner and carriage, and a very evident wish that everybody should enjoy themselves as far as they can. An extraordinary proof of the minuteness of his observation in matters of dress was given yesterday evening, as he passed me on leaving the dining-room, for he paused and said, "You have not got your embroidered waistcoat!" I could only reply, "Your Majesty remembers that!" His memory must have gone back to my last visit to Balmoral, six years ago.

October 2nd.—Returned to London after spending a couple of days at the Inch and sleeping at York on the way south. I spent two hours this morning in York Minster. A misty morning slowly melted into the azure of midday, and the gradual penetration of the sun through the coloured glass, which is one of the glories of the cathedral, made the mystery of the atmosphere subject to continual change, and the contrast between the *grisaille* of the great lancets in the north transept and the glow that suffused the south aisle and the ambulatory had an effect which held the imagination spellbound.

October 6th.—The news that Austria and Bulgaria have seen fit to tear up the Treaty of Berlin has produced a great sensation. Spender, of "The Westminster Gazette," whom I saw just after he had left Edward Grey, confirms my confidence that in his hands the peace of Europe will be maintained, while due concession will in the long run be made to the formal rights of the participating

Powers. We shall have exhibited to us a series of carefully manipulated stage effects, such as M. Hanotaux is now describing in the pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in connection with the Congress of 1878, and then Europe will acquiesce behind some pompous phrases in *les faits accomplis*, which the intrigues of thirty years have been preparing. It is not a little singular that an act which M. Charles Diehl, in his most interesting article on Bosnia and Herzegovina, says was pressed upon the Emperor Francis Joseph in celebration of his fiftieth anniversary, should have been in very truth reserved for the sixtieth. Germany, as thirty years ago, stands in the background and allows others to take the leading rôle in transactions which she has no doubt foreseen, and the result of which she has fully provided for in the ultimate development of her plans.

October 15*th.*—Notwithstanding the Prime Minister's desire to make a change at the Home Office, the Secretary of State's reluctance to enjoy "promotion" has triumphed. Fitzmaurice is to have Cabinet rank, but not as Lord President, which great office is to devolve on Lord Wolverhampton: the first time in its history that it has been filled by a Dissenter and a solicitor. George Russell is very anxious to attend the Council at which he will be installed, but I cannot gratify him merely for the sake of copy, and, as I told Lord Crewe, "probably irreverent copy."

October 17*th.*—We went to Babraham for Sunday: a small party, consisting of Lord Freddy Hamilton, Mrs. Hugh Fraser, and M. de Bille, son of the Danish Minister. The house stands in a nicely wooded small park, in the hollow of some low hills. Mrs. Adeane is a delightful hostess, with a soothing, contemplative charm that gives grace to her surroundings. There is a mellow wisdom, a patient philosophy, an exquisite goodness without rigour or intolerance in her point of view, which renders her an ideal companion.

Unfortunately I had to return to London in the evening: Claud Hamilton was kind enough to stop a train for me at a small station in the vicinity, so I did it without much trouble. For once I fell under the fascination of the motor, as we sped along the silent lanes, with ghostly mists on either side stealing across the marshlands, and overhead the multitudinous army of the stars, mustering their solemn files.

October 19*th.*—The Council to-day was remarkable for the age of some of those in attendance: Sir Charles Tupper, the doyen of Canadian statesmen, is in his eighty-eighth year, Lord Ripon will be eighty-one this week, and Lord Wolverhampton is approaching seventy-nine: Crewe and Fitzmaurice completed the number with Sir Fairfax Cartwright, the new Ambassador at Vienna. Sir C. Tupper told me he first crossed the Atlantic in 1840, when the passage in a sailing ship occupied forty days, in striking contrast

to the last occasion, the sixty-third, when the vessel was only four days out of sight of land. Lord Ripon had been very plucky in coming the whole way from Studley to deliver up the Privy Seal, as his health is not at all good. He described his own condition as calculated to convey the impression that he was about to become a mother, as he was suffering from an abdominal inflation which made all movement very uncomfortable, and gave additional awkwardness to a figure never marked by natural grace.

I had a *postcard* from George Russell deploring his disappointment. "I should have enjoyed," he said, "seeing that typical old middle-class dissenting attorney invested with that splendid-sounding office. These ironies of life delight me." I showed it to Crewe, who was hugely pleased with this lifelike sketch of his colleague. At the same time, I am bound to say the old man played his part with dignity and composure.

October 20th.—Ampthill's Nurses' Registration Bill came on upon recommittal. Old Fowler took very little trouble to get up its provisions or the reasons for the amendments which the Government were to introduce, and on one crucial point he seemed ready to give the case away; but when the question was raised in the House, he stiffened his back and did what he was told. On the whole our views were given effect to, though the stage was marked by great slovenliness of thought and diction on the part of most of those who shared in the discussion. Lord Ashbourne had a crushing snub from the adjoining seat at the hands of Lord Lansdowne, who described an amendment he had supported as an absurd and puerile proposal. Ampthill might have shortened debate by forgoing obvious explanations, but on the whole his management of the Bill deserves high praise.

October 26th.—I assisted Herbert Samuel at the Home Office to receive a deputation on the Poisons Bill, representing an effort on the part of the two contending factions to come to terms. In the result of prolonged and arduous diplomacy, in which we have been very much aided by Samuel's efforts, there seems some prospect of the Bill being put into a form which will allow its being treated as an uncontroversial measure.

I took the opportunity of congratulating Samuel on his conduct of the Children's Bill, which I recognised as a very thorough attempt to give effect to most of the recommendations of my Committee on the juvenile aspect of Physical Deterioration. Samuel was very outspoken in admitting the obligations under which he lay to the Report of the Committee, for he declared it had been his constant reference and support throughout the proceedings in the House of Commons.

October 30th.—Lord Wolverhampton is clearly not going to do any work which he can avoid. I do not quarrel with that, as he

seems disposed to place himself in my hands. Haldane tells me he possesses a good deal of knowledge of an ill-sorted nature.

I gave Haldane all I had heard of the success attending the Territorial Army, which naturally pleased him. Reduced to the unimpeachable basis of figures, the net result of the first six months worked out on this wise. Whereas, he said, out of a total volunteer force of 240,000 enrolled, there had been 150,000 efficient, of which about 5,000 spent a fortnight annually in camp; the Territorials show a muster roll of 170,000, who must by the terms of their engagement be effective, out of which no less than 105,000 underwent the fortnight's training. He also assured me that the Special Reserve showed no less favourable results as compared with the Militia, whose place they had taken. He is certainly to be congratulated on the courage and tenacity with which he has held on his way, and reaches a measure of achievement which already confounds his critics.

November 10th.—The Nurses' Registration Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords.

I spent half an hour with Lloyd George going over the list of Sheriffs; he was very accommodating, and subscribed most readily to everything I suggested. I had luncheon at the Old Bailey with the Lord Chief Justice.

November 11th.—Prince Bülow's speech in the Reichstag sets the seal of condemnation upon the recent excursion of his master into the region of political reminiscence. I can conceive no greater humiliation for a man of the Emperor's temperament and pretensions than to have been the subject of what was really a strongly worded censure passed upon him by his own Chancellor before the representatives of the nation, and in the face of listening Europe. The impossibility of reconciling personal government with the forms of constitutional monarchy never received more emphatic testimony.

I had luncheon with the Havershams, and we dined with Lady Tweeddale, when I had the pleasure of meeting an old friend, whom I do not often see now, in the person of Lady Ardilaun, a warm-hearted, genuine woman with a lively interest in the things that have made and are making history. Mrs. Lowther, the Speaker's wife, Sir H. and Lady Stephenson, Count Gleichen and the Samuelsons completed the party, which was a pleasant one.

November 12th.—I had a somewhat confidential talk with the Lord President this morning which threw some light on the problems of Cabinet government at the present time. He reminded me that he and Asquith were the only two members of the Ministry who had ever held Cabinet office before, a fact which very much weakened the sense of collective responsibility affecting the whole body.

Lord Wolverhampton quoted Mr. Gladstone, who in sonorous phrase had declared the Cabinet to be "one and indivisible," whereas, in the happy-go-lucky system which prevails to-day, there is constant risk of this or that member of it finding himself isolated, if not repudiated.

The Lord Chief Justice, being detained at the Old Bailey, could not take part in the nomination of the Sheriffs, so the Chancellor of the Exchequer was assisted by the Lord President. Lloyd George hardly showed the assurance I expected, and was very modest in announcing his judgment.

November 13th.—I saw Fawkes this evening, who is Port Admiral at Devonport. His last command was the Australian Station, and he spoke in the highest terms of the zeal there displayed in behalf of naval defences: his ships were largely manned with Australians trained under the various Naval Defence Acts, and up to the rank of senior petty officer nothing could answer better than the system adopted. He was cordial in his praise of Australian politicians, who, with a little tact, were easy enough to work with, and from this eulogy he did not exclude the Labour Party.

November 17th.—We spent Sunday at Weald with the Towers: a house of considerable interest and antiquity, said to have been the abode of Mary Tudor previous to her accession. Sir Henry Howard, late British Minister at the Hague, was there, full of entertaining reminiscences of a long and varied diplomatic career.

A big luncheon at the Ardilauns' occupied an hour and a half. The theatrical world was represented by Charles Wyndham and two "leading ladies" in the persons of Winifred Emery and Mary Moore; the first has charm and intelligence.

November 19th.—We dined last night with Lady Brabourne; Sir Henry and Lady Margaret Graham, Blackie Hopes, Albert Grays, etc.; Henry Graham was inclined to think the Lords would pass the second reading of the Licensing Bill, though he admitted intrigues were on foot which might neutralise prudent counsels.

On passing through St. James's Park just as the bands were playing in anticipation of the return of the King of Sweden from the City, I noticed the pelicans in a state of wild commotion: on closer scrutiny it appeared that their legs were moving in rhythmical accord with the music, and that they were in fact dancing as vigorously as they knew how; one in particular performed a regular breakdown. The fact became doubly apparent with the cessation of the music, when they fell into their customary apathy.

November 20th.—Council at Windsor. I went down with the Lord President and the new Privy Councillors by special train at 12.15. Some variation in the ordinary procedure was necessi-

tated by the presence of a Jew and a Quaker; indeed, as we had orthodox Anglicanism and normal dissent represented as well, we only required a Roman Catholic to furnish every variety of religious experience. Herbert Samuel was not only sworn on the Pentateuch, but took his hat into the Presence and held it over his head as he kissed the book. Pease, the Chief Government Whip, made affirmation, which he read for himself in the usual form. These Radical gentlemen were much impressed by the state in which we were taken up to the Castle, in two open landaus drawn by grey horses with postilions: they were also very pleased with the luncheon, to which more than thirty sat down at three round tables. Miss Blanche Lascelles, the poetess Maid of Honour, whom I had not seen since Cowes last year, was present in a Directoire dress, whose serpentine coils recalled the mermaid in Burne-Jones's celebrated picture. I sat between Granard and Esher, at the same table as Lady Gosford, who gave us a very satisfactory account of the old Duchess of Devonshire. Colebrooke asked me if we would take Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyll back to London in our special train, which I told him we should be very glad to do, as we had an unoccupied saloon attached to it. It was a great convenience to them, as we did the journey in twenty-five minutes, and they expressed their acknowledgments very courteously on reaching Paddington. Princess Louise looks remarkably young, and retains her brightness of manner unimpaired. Beauchamp and Granard also returned to London with us.

November 24th.—The Tory Peers in conclave at Lansdowne House decided not to give the Licensing Bill a second reading. Therein the timidity of property, which is the prevailing characteristic of the House of Lords, expressed itself, as I think, disastrously for the future of that assembly. When sectional fears come to be manipulated for party ends, the claims of the House to the impartiality of a revising Chamber must necessarily be abandoned.

I dined with the General Medical Council to celebrate their jubilee, in connection with which MacAlister, now President, is about to receive the K.C.B. I sat on his left and had Sir W. Church on my left. Sir W. Turner, late President, in replying to the toast of his health, was kind enough to refer to our official relations in very cordial terms, expressing the surprise with which from the first he had noted my ready grasp of medical problems, a thing he had not been prepared for in one whose only connection with the profession had been, so far as he knew, in the position of a patient.

November 28th.—I received a letter from Lord Lansdowne unfolding the views of the Executive Committee appointed to report on the proposal for providing a memorial to the late Duke

of Devonshire by means of a statue in some prominent position in London, which had been found at the junction of the Horse Guards Avenue with Whitchall. I spoke to Esher on the subject at Windsor, and found that he had been a strong advocate of placing the statue in the court at Devonshire House immediately opposite the gates brought from Chiswick a few years ago. In my judgment the present Duke was right in thinking that to do so would give the tribute a domestic complexion, which would discourage public interest; whereas the site selected was open to view from one of the most spacious thoroughfares in London, overlooked the main approach to the Houses of Parliament, and lay between the War Office and the Privy Council Office, the two departments with which the Duke's administrative activity was most closely associated. I wish the work could be given to Tweed.

December 1st.—I was away from London during the debate in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Licensing Bill, but all the information I gather from authoritative sources goes to show that Lord Lansdowne capitulated to the thinly veiled threat of a Tory revolt. Thus it came about that a reasoned amendment was adopted, charging the Bishops, who may still in some feeble degree be held to represent the conscience of the community, with supporting a measure that violated every principle of equity. Lord Lansdowne's standing difficulty as the Whig Leader of Tory Peers, coupled with his scrupulous regard for the obligations of any position he accepts, could not make head against the vehemence of a large section of his supporters voiced by men like Cawdor and Lord Halsbury. Cawdor's denunciation of the tyranny of the Local Option clauses came with peculiar irony from a man who, on his Welsh property of five or six parishes, does not permit a single public-house. The division was not in the circumstances a bad one. Lord Wolverhampton left the House to return home an hour before it was taken unpaired, which was not the way to treat his colleagues. Writing to Crewe to-day to entreat his influence with the Prime Minister to secure the consideration of our Poisons Bill in the House of Commons, I said I had not invoked the assistance of the Lord President in that after his recent escapade Asquith might be disposed to say "I'll see you damned first!"

I am told that at Windsor the other day Mrs. Asquith was talking to one of the Swedes, who taxed her credulity a little too high, upon which she said, "I think, monsieur, you are pulling my leg." "I assure you, madam, I have not touched it," was the reply.

December 8th.—Lord Wolverhampton told me he had heard from the Duke of Fife that the King's health had lately given rise to great anxiety: his condition had been much more serious

than the public sources of information had been permitted to divulge, as, in addition to the bronchial weakness which is more or less chronic during the winter, he had been troubled with acute pain in the region of the heart, which was attributed to rheumatism. Lord W. also enlarged on the difficulty the Government were in owing to the weakness of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in allowing so much legislation to be promised and attempted: he looked to Asquith to clear the decks of a good deal of lumber, and believed that he had both the force and resolution to do so.

George Russell, Sir F. Hopwood, Julia Lady Tweeddale, and Lady Hylton came to luncheon. George was at his best, story after story in the same strongly pitched voice falling from his lips. He told one to illustrate Mrs. Wilberforce's veneration of the British aristocracy, for, on the occasion of the Downshire divorce, she delivered herself of the dictum, "Greater love hath no woman than this, that she should lay down her coronet for her friend!" It would be difficult to recall a saying where bad taste and irreverence were so closely allied.

December 10th.—A box was sent me for the "afternoon" performance of "Hannele," which I was able to attend after a morning spent at a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. Hauptmann, with that weird spirituality of the higher order of German mind, has dared to put on the stage the dying dream of a child who has been done to death by her father's brutality. That the poetry and the pathos of the conception subsist unsubdued by the conventions which stage necessities impose is the strongest testimony to the high quality of the aim and the means by which it is presented. The pure spiritual essence of the dream, in contrast with the sordid surroundings from which it emerges, affirms the invincible idealism of the poor, and the bitterness of the irony underlying the conflict is not allowed to obscure the note of triumph which awaits the issue.

December 11th.—A large dinner at the Ardilauns. I sat next Mrs. Mallet, who is always lavish in the affirmation of positive doctrine. After dinner I talked to old Lady Sligo, whose French tact and lightness of touch was very pleasing.

December 19th.—The week has been one of scurry in the frantic effort to close the session, and, but for Lord Lansdowne's insisting upon the postponement of the Prorogation till next week, the legislative scandal of the last few days would have been even more marked. Both parties in the House of Commons having wasted the earlier weeks of the Autumn Session, were determined to get away, regardless of the confusion into which the business of Parliament might be thrown. The King's absence at Brighton proved an obstacle to their wishes, as his intention was to hold the Prorogation Council in London on his return next week,

and he was very loth to have a Council at Brighton, which with other disadvantages would have produced the impression that his health prevented his coming to London. The difficulty of knowing where we were at last became so acute that on Thursday I succeeded in inducing Lord Wolverhampton to write to Lord Lansdowne, in the result of which it was settled to defer the Prorogation till Monday. As it was, the confusion which prevailed in either House was extreme; Bills were flung backwards and forwards between the two Chambers, with amendments unprinted and sometimes so obscurely arranged that the Lord Chancellor was severely put to it to disentangle the web of words; adjournments for a few hours had to be resorted to and Bills to be deferred to the following day, so that the reduction of the time at their disposal by twenty-four hours would have made an inextricable mess of public business; and yet, such is the blind prejudice of party feeling, "The Westminster Gazette" commented upon the aggravation of the Commons' grievances against the Lords by their being compelled to sacrifice two days of their holidays to the convenience of the other House.

Dinner at the Enfields' last night. I took care of Lady Bertha Egerton, who is always bright and pleasant: the Monsons, Cora Lady Strafford, and Miss Hylda Paget were also there.

December 21st.—Council for the Prorogation: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord President, Althorp, and Fitzmaurice attended. The King appeared in his usual health, though perhaps a little pale. The Speech was prolix and without any striking passages. The struggle is to come. Within the Cabinet an acute controversy is raging on the Navy Estimates. McKenna provides for an increase of over £3,000,000, which Lloyd George and Winston Churchill are fighting for all they are worth. McKenna, with his grasp of financial detail, and a great deal of natural tenacity, is on strong ground, but the risk consists in his being forced to purchase the increase in the shipbuilding vote by cheeseparing in other directions, which would militate against the efficiency of the Service.

Reports from the Congress in South Africa bring confederation within measurable distance; an extraordinary degree of concord and conciliation has manifested itself, and Boer and Briton, under Selborne's inspiration, are working like one man towards a happy solution of a most difficult problem. These facts are no small tribute to Elgin's statesmanship in laying the foundation of representative government in the Boer States.

1909

January 9th–11th.—I spent Sunday at Ratton, where I met Harcourt, Sir R. Solomon, Agent-General for the Transvaal, and his wife, a sister of the later Attorney-General, and Riversdale

Walrond. Sir R. Solomon, who is one of the most astute South African politicians, confirmed all I have heard of the wonderful unanimity of the Congress, which has in view the unification of the country; and, as he looks to retaining his office as representative of the future Confederation, he may be regarded as faithfully reflecting prevalent opinion. With no disposition to do Selborne more than justice, he admitted his influence had been exercised with prudence and judgment. He testified to the generosity of Elgin's sentiments and the scrupulous respect he had shown for the susceptibilities of the Boers, to which he was disposed largely to attribute their present readiness to co-operate with the English for the welfare of the country. To Milner, whose commanding abilities he recognised, he was not so fair; his tenacity, which in the trying circumstances of the war was entitled to the highest praise, made him, after it was over, slow to escape the antipathies it engendered, and, as a harsh critic of the Elgin constitution, he could not easily reconcile himself to its success. Harcourt is always a most agreeable feature in a house party. He gave me a curious account of the way in which the figures surmounting the pillars upon the various approaches to the Queen's Memorial in front of Buckingham Palace came to be of such disproportionate size. It appears that those responsible for the two parts of the work never prepared drawings to scale covering both, but had worked on entirely independent lines, with the result that the groups crowning the pillars look like so many hypertrophied monsters. He maintains, so far as he can, a vigilant watch upon the buildings overlooking the Royal Parks, with a view to restraining extravagance of structure, but is often credited with neglect. Thus the King took him to task for the unsightly edifice that occupies the site of Gloucester House, whereupon he replied, "It is part of the price which London has to pay for the luxury of an Established Church, for the site belongs to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners."

January 14*th.*—The first volume of the "Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)," for the production of which I am responsible, appeared last week, and I had a very gratifying letter from Knollys, to whom I forwarded a copy for His Majesty's Library. In sending a copy to Lord Rosebery, I reminded him of our request for some assistance from the Rhodes Trustees, in default of which we had managed to proceed with the work: it drew from him a characteristic defence of the Trustees, who, he said, were "not ungenerous, but destitute," as they depended on De Beers.

January 21*st.*—Lord Cromer was having luncheon at the Travellers', and I had some talk with him afterwards. He confessed himself quite impenitent on the line he had taken in support of Free Trade, and said that, the more thought he gave it, the

stronger his conviction grew that the task of framing a Budget to give effect to the views of Tariff Reformers would prove impossible. He believed that, in the event of Mr. Balfour being called upon to form a Government, he would himself take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as Prime Minister, and thus guarantee himself against fiscal vagaries outside the limits of his own special formulæ; but, even under such conditions, he did not consider the experiment had any chance of success. His quarrel with the finance of the Government was mainly due to the adoption of Old Age Pensions upon a non-contributory basis. I pointed out that this was due to their desire to give immediate effect upon a limited scale to any scheme they might introduce, and that any extension of its benefit to persons below the age of seventy probably would be combined with a measure of contribution; but he was obviously too far pledged to a despondent view to accept any encouragement from this circumstance. Frank Lascelles, who joined us, chaffed him amiably upon having become almost as frequent a speaker as the German Emperor.

January 29th.—This week has been noticeable for two consecutive days of thick fog, but we managed to go out last night for the dinner in celebration of my Uncle Feversham's eightieth birthday. All the three sisters were there, looking lovely. Our host, with the burden of eighty years upon his shoulders, was a pathetic figure, and all our efforts to be cheerful failed to exorcise the shadow in the background. Claud Hamilton, Lady Constance Leslie, Henry Stracey, and Sir W. Bennett came from outside the family.

January 31st.—I had luncheon with Mrs. Andrew Lawson, a beautiful and gifted woman of deep feeling and wide intellectual sympathies, whose dominant trait is the intense vividness which experience has given to habits of somewhat sorrowful reflection.

February 3rd.—The Cabinets this week have been occupied by somewhat vehement debates on the naval policy of the Government. The demands of the Admiralty, which include provision for six improved "Dreadnoughts," have been bitterly opposed by Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, with some assistance from Harcourt, not to speak of sympathy more or less avowed in other quarters. The greater part of the outlay would touch the financial year 1910–11, in which, as at present contemplated, the General Election will fall, and that circumstance has given the malcontents a strong weapon. Moreover, there does not appear to be any collective insight into the naval requirements of the country, and each Minister who wants money for his own department, is prone to look somewhat apathetically upon large demands for the Navy. However, the matter for the present has been relegated to a Cabinet Committee, which the Admiralty regards as a point in its favour. McKenna is proving a stout

advocate of its claims, and I understand that the Naval Lords are agreed to carry their objections to the length of resignation *en bloc*, in the event of any dangerous reduction of shipbuilding requirements.

February 5th–8th.—At Madresfield for three days. The party consisted of the Northcotes, St. Aldwyns, Adeline Duchess of Bedford, Lady Margaret Levett, Pom McDonnell, John Fortescue, Mrs. Arthur Strong, Count and Countess Wrangel, and Pandeli Ralli. I had the opportunity of several talks with Lord St. Aldwyn, whose judgment, foresight, and freedom from prejudice raise him far above the level of his compeers on the Unionist benches. With rare ability, great oratorical talents, and unimpeachable loyalty, it is little less than a disaster that circumstances should have relegated him to a back place in the councils of his party. He looked with grave misgiving upon the probable lack of prestige attaching to any Ministry Mr. Balfour would be able to form, in the event of a General Election proving unfortunate for the Government, which he thought likely. Austen Chamberlain's abilities he considered hardly second-rate, and believed Bonar Law to be the only new man who would give the least additional strength to any possible combination. He reminded me of the great difficulty he had had with the Whips when, as a war tax, he put a shilling duty on corn, and was satisfied that a tariff reform ministry would not long survive the unpopularity of food taxes. He admitted the gravity of the financial position, owing to the commitments so heedlessly entered upon, but saw no prospect of relief from the speculative enterprises of fiscal jugglery. He is evidently ready for larger changes in the constitution of the House of Lords than would commend themselves to most of his party : his experience of that assembly in connection with licensing reform and education not having inspired him with any great confidence in its wisdom. He still hoped, however, that a compromise on the Education Question was possible.

It appears that Carrington was with difficulty restrained from a peroration to his speech on the Licensing Bill, in which he proposed to say that the Bill, when dead, would not go into Abraham's bosom but into Lord Rothschild's pocket.

I was very glad to see the Northcotes again, and all he said, though he was very discreet, confirmed me in the conviction that the hopes based on Colonial Preference are utterly fallacious.

Lord St. Aldwyn told me that years ago, when the question of Irish financial contribution was first raised, a Cabinet Committee, of which both he and Chamberlain were members, considered the subject ; he (Lord St. Aldwyn) came to the conclusion that, on grounds of economic conditions and historical justice, the only way of dealing effectually with the problem in the in-

terests of Ireland was a protective duty in favour of Irish agricultural produce: this he communicated to the Committee, upon which Chamberlain seemed very much struck, and said that, if he were ten years younger, he would be inclined to make such a scheme the basis of a new departure in Irish policy.

February 13th.—Lord Wolverhampton talked to me at some length on the position of the Government, and again deplored the lack of any sense of Cabinet responsibility, Herbert Gladstone's error in describing the Ministry as favourable to female suffrage being the text of his complaint. He rejoiced that the naval controversy had terminated in the substantial acceptance of the Admiralty's programme, but took a very gloomy view of the financial situation. He regretted the large surrender of sugar duty in the last budget, which could hardly be made good by playing with tea or any other item of indirect taxation. His principal misgivings were directed to Ireland, in connection with which he condemned Birrell unreservedly. In his judgment the resources of the extraordinary law should have been utilised long ago, whereas Birrell rested his sole defence upon the impossibility of doing anything with the ordinary law, thus sacrificing the whole case for a punctilio. His scheme of apologetics rested mainly on the inevitable decadence which besets every Cabinet in turn. This is the mediocre politician's ordinary explanation.

February 14th.—Knollys telephoned late last night that, on the return of the King from Berlin, he had altered all the arrangements for the Council and wished uniform to be worn. I had thus, in the intervening hours of Sunday, to put myself in communication with seven people. The Archbishop of York was at Peterborough, and telegraphed that he had sent to York for his robes, but was doubtful whether they would arrive in time. Sandhurst was at North Berwick, Lord Northcote at Cumberland Lodge; but I was able to establish communication with each of them, and also to arrange that Althorp should take Beauchamp's place, who wished to be at Eaton for the funeral of the little Grosvenor boy. I attribute the King's action in the matter entirely to the effect of three days' residence at Berlin.

February 15th.—The Archbishop wrote to ask whether, in the event of his clothes not arriving in time, he should obtain the loan of the Archbishop of Canterbury's. I referred the point to Knollys, whose advice was, "Let him beg, borrow, or steal." As a matter of fact, he appeared in his own. I had asked Harcourt to attend, in order that his name should give an historic touch to the occasion, and they were very glad to meet. Bigham expressed a doubt whether the Archbishop would care to see him, as his business was to undo the other's work.

A very funny incident occurred at the Council, for, as the Archbishop was retiring after he had kissed the King's hand, Lord

Northcote, who is very diffident and rather slow on his legs, came into collision with him; but the Archbishop, owing to the padded nature of his robes and Northcote's diminutive size, was entirely unaware that he was entangled somewhere in their folds. The King stepped forward as if to assist, and then broke into a laugh, watching to see upon which side of the Archbishop Northcote would ultimately emerge.

The King's Speech is a document of very little interest, as it is understood that Welsh Disestablishment, the only highly controversial item of the programme, is merely there for show.

February 18th.—Last night I dined with Sir John Murray Scott, who had a remarkable party: three foreign diplomatists, Metternich, Lalaing, and an Austrian I did not know; four Knights of the Garter, Lords Lansdowne, Rosebery, Crewe, and Carrington; three Grand Crosses of the Bath, Knollys, Frank Lascelles, and George Murray; Haldane, Eric Barrington, Sidney Greville, Pom McDonnell, Charles Frederick, Henry Yorke, and one or two more. Charles Frederick, by whom I was seated, evinced considerable anxiety over the King's health; notwithstanding his chronic bronchial trouble, he persists in going out in all weathers and does not hesitate to expose himself to unnecessary strain. On Tuesday evening he had a coughing fit of such severity that he was left very weak and ill, and the tendency of the local malady is to descend lower. It is apparently felt by those around him that the sooner he can be got out of the country the better. There is no doubt the time at Berlin did him no good, as the unwonted heat of the rooms disabled him from facing the cold. On the other hand, the moral effect he produced was excellent. Frank Lascelles had heard from the Master of the Horse at Berlin that nothing could have passed off better: his tact in saying just the right thing never failed, and the Queen played up to her part, enjoying great popularity.

One of the first incidents of the Session has been to force the hand of Mr. Balfour. It had been his intention to confine the official amendment to the subject of Ireland and to take charge of it himself, and it was no doubt a sound instinct for the weakest point in the ministerial defence; but this would not do for the Tariff Reformers, and these gentlemen are in a position to call the tune. Accordingly Austen Chamberlain, with a verbose and confused resolution, will take the floor to-night.

A very strange story comes from Cannes as to the circumstances of Lord Robertson's death. It appears that he left his hotel at 7.45 to dine at a villa some little distance away. At 8.30 a telephone message reached the hotel to enquire whether Lord Robertson might be expected soon. An hour later Lord Robertson returned to the hotel as pale as death, utterly distraught, and quite incapable of giving an account of what had happened. After a

stiff glass of spirits he recovered himself enough to stammer once or twice, "Oh, the horror of it!" but would or could give no further information. He was put to bed, but unfortunately no doctor was summoned. He seems to have risen at eight, but in a short time felt so ill that he returned to bed. A doctor was then hastily called, who pronounced that he was dying. During the little time that elapsed before the end arrived nothing escaped his lips but an occasional repetition of the same agonised cry, "Oh, the horror of it!" There was no mark about him of having suffered any violence, he had not been robbed, and the only suggestions offered were blackmail, which seems highly improbable, or some terrible hallucination of the approach of which there had been nothing to afford a sign.

February 22nd.—A report having reached Bristol that the University Charter had been granted, Arrowsmith, the publisher, in the belief that the King signs such instruments, wrote to Birrell to ask if the pen used on the occasion could be forwarded to him for presentation to Mr. H. O. Wills, the donor of £100,000 to the University, who was grievously ill and would, he thought, be much cheered by such a proof of His Majesty's consideration! Birrell's letter, in sending on the request, showed so much humour that I must quote from it:

"I doubt not you get many curious requests. I enclose one. I can only say Arrowsmith is a good fellow, and knows Mr. H. O. Wills very well. £100,000 is perhaps worth a pen, if indeed the pen can be identified and the public service robbed of its future services. Anyhow, as in duty bound, I forward the request."

February 26th.—Lord Wolverhampton, in talking to me this morning about the arrangements for his Sheriffs' dinner, said cheerfully he must be careful to separate those of his colleagues who were not on speaking terms—a jest which contained something serious.

February 27th.—The Lord President held his Sheriffs' dinner last night at the Hotel Cecil, in the room occupied by the Grillion Club. I had a good deal to say to the *venue* and arrangements, both of which gave him great satisfaction. The dinner was excellent, and not too long. We were only fourteen, including the Private Secretary and Lord Shaw, who was asked to guard against the risks of thirteen. One thing came out very clearly, and that was the coldness in which Lloyd George is held by some of his colleagues, notably his host, and in hardly less degree by the Lord Chancellor.

May 1st.—The circumstances that have attended the production of the Budget fail to inspire much confidence in Cabinet government or the sense of responsibility which it produces. The impression left on my mind by the net result of the consultations

held upon the financial proposals of Mr. Lloyd George is, that he and Winston Churchill have at last succeeded in wearing down the opposition of their more important colleagues. Certainly some of the proposals embodied in the scheme constitute an acceptance of principles which I have the best reason for knowing the Cabinet as a whole had no wish to endorse. The form of land taxation devised to meet the demand for bringing " unearned increment " within the meshes of the tax-collector, though capable of being presented as equitable in intention and partial in incidence, are, I understand from the Treasury authorities, designed to have very wide scope, and the " steeping " in the graduation of death duties will in effect accomplish much more than the " fractional " increase attributed to it by ministerial apologists.

The battle over the Budget really began before the onslaught upon the Admiralty programme, which was in fact the outcome of it. McKenna, who, whatever his defects as a naval administrator, is an accomplished financier, was one of the most strenuous in exposing the hollowness of Lloyd George's views on the taxation of land values and the predatory tendencies they barely concealed, and it was as a counter-move to his opposition, with the hope of bringing about his removal from the Cabinet, that Winston Churchill and Lloyd George set themselves to thwart his plans for providing the country with sufficient ships. Forced, though with a very bad grace, to accept the formula adopted by the Prime Minister and Sir E. Grey, which in substance gave McKenna what he asked for, the baffled advocates of a little Navy renewed the battle on the financial issue, and have succeeded, by dint of the most audacious mystification, in winning a qualified acquiescence for doctrines which a little while ago were distrusted as empirical and suspected of being confiscatory.

In the language used to me Lord Wolverhampton has been unsparing in the condemnation of the course pursued, culminating in Churchill's famous letter to his constituents, which had no other object than to flout the Prime Minister and show his indifference to the interests of which the Foreign Secretary had announced himself the guardian. It was his reply, according to Lord Wolverhampton, to the contempt with which his threats of resignation on the Naval Question had been treated.

May 3rd.—I saw Lord Reay this afternoon, who felt satisfied that the Government would make large concessions in order to get the Budget Bill through the House of Commons without the closure, to which he understood that they did not intend in any case to resort.

At the General Meeting of the Travellers', the eighth (Annual and Extraordinary) at which I have presided, I spoke for a quarter of an hour with the result of anticipating criticism and getting all the business through in thirty minutes.

May 4th.—I joined Camperdown in St. James's Park this morning, and found him very much exercised about the probable effect of the new land taxation on the proprietors of agricultural estates; he thought men with from £5,000 to £7,000 derived from land would have all their resources eaten up, at least in the second generation. He gave me an interesting account of Arthur Balfour's speech last night, which, as far as it went, was a very searching and destructive piece of criticism. Ministers were visibly moved by what he said, and fell to talking among themselves in a way that irritated Members sitting immediately behind the orator. Detecting the impatience of his supporters, he waved his hand towards the Government bench, and with an emphasis of scorn exclaimed, "Let them reason the matter out for themselves if they can."

May 8th.—A meeting at the United Service Institution yesterday afternoon, over which Haldane presided, was disturbed by some militant suffragettes: one was disposed of by rolling her up in a blanket and discharging her upon the pavement in Whitehall. In illustration of the length some women are prepared to go, Haldane tells a story of his experience the other day. Having entered a corridor train which was not timed to stop for a couple of hours, he found that a number of these persons had taken tickets for the journey with the object of surprising him in his compartment and forcing him to yield them satisfaction. By the timely aid of the company's officers he was conducted to a carriage where he could be concealed from view and thus secured from attack.

I went to see the new Dutch garden at Kensington Palace, and then wandered through the State Rooms, which I had never seen. The garden is well placed, being sufficiently sunk to be set in a frame of verdure to which the enticing tints of spring gave a delicious freshness, while its formal lines imparted just that touch of lineal precision so necessary to the interchange of thought and feeling which it is the peculiar grace of a garden to suggest.

"Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos æternos in mente habui."

May 10th.—We had a dinner at home: the Hyltons, George and Lady M. Duckworth, Pitt-Rivers, and Sebrights; and afterwards went to the Duchess of Northumberland's party. Neither entertainment was particularly exhilarating, though our own guests were good enough to appear pleased.

May 12th.—A big dinner at the Wythes in Berkeley Square. I was fortunate in being placed by Mrs. Wythes, who proved very agreeable. Later I went to the Royal Society Conversazione, but people were already dispersing. I saw Lord Rayleigh, however, and Sir William Church, to whom I was anxious to speak.

May 13*th.*—I went to the House of Commons to assist Asquith in receiving a deputation from the advocates of Nurses' Registration, to whom he administered a salutary douche of common sense. In looking at the man one is impressed by the proofs of brain-power resident in the forceful lines of the head and the keen vigour of his glance.

Some people attribute the little hold the Prime Minister seems to keep on Lloyd George to his desire once and for all to disembarrass himself of him; certainly the difficulties into which the Chancellor of the Exchequer is falling point to some catastrophe to his reputation before the long-drawn controversy on the Budget comes to an end. Those whose business it is to watch him are in despair at his indifference to large financial issues, and now confine their efforts to keep him out of the most obvious pitfalls.

May 26*th.*—I took the chair at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Midwives' Association at 3 Grosvenor Place, and made a speech to the company. Princess Alice distributed the certificates.

We dined with the Charles Wortleys, and had a very pleasant evening. Poor old Lord James appeared in a very feeble state, but with a good deal of conversational brightness left. Lady Lovelace, Mrs. Harry Anstruther, Lord Montagu and his daughter were among the rest. Miss Montagu struck me as a young lady of enterprise and love of adventure.

May 27*th.*—Though the Finance Bill was read a first time last night, the Cabinet were considering a fresh revision of it this morning. There is no precedent for a Bill of the kind being thrown into the crucible at this late hour; and the Government must suffer for their want of decision at such a critical point in their career.

Lord Wolverhampton, who hates the whole scheme as heartily as any Tory, said to me mournfully the other day that it was no use his resigning, but perhaps he might do some good in fighting it to the last in the Cabinet, where at least there were some to whose support he could rally.

When the King went into the crowd at Epsom yesterday he was very cordially greeted; one burly ruffian shouted, "Now, King, you have won the Derby, go back home and dissolve this bloody Parliament!"—an illustration of Boileau's remark: "Un sot quelquefois ouvre un avis important."

June 13*th.*—At Heron Court from Friday to Monday. No better time of the year could be chosen to display the beauties of this place, which depend much on colour. Among the low pine-clad hills which bound the view to the north-east there is a basin, some hundreds yards wide, where masses of rhododendrons pave its floor and climb the sides in a bewildering luxury of hue, which seems all the richer for the sombre spaces of the pines

overhead. The party was well chosen, consisting of the Dalrymples, John Cokes, Alfred and Florence Duncombe, and Mrs. Brodie, one of George Drummond's daughters, who lost her husband after four months of married life.

June 25th.—The King's birthday was so wet that the Parade was cancelled.

Herbert Gladstone's dinner was not lively. I sat between Mr. Justice Swinfen Eady and the Head of the Home Office's factory staff. The party at Lansdowne House had that easy brilliance which belongs to a stately tradition. Lord Lansdowne carried his right arm in a sling, but otherwise looked none the worse for his recent operation.

July 8th–13th.—We spent three days in a trip to Guernsey, where I had official business arising out of an alleged abuse of authority on the part of the Seneschal of Sark. Spencer Chapman took us over in the "Aldebaran," and we came in for half a gale of wind between the Casquets and the island, which was very disagreeable. However, the next three days were on the whole fine. Saturday morning I spent in conference with the Governor, the State Secretary, the Procureur, and the Contrôleur, which at least supplied a good deal of atmosphere to the case I had to investigate. On Sunday we had luncheon with the Governor and Mrs. Auld at the old home of the Saumarez family, which they rent. There we spent three hours among woods and gardens of tropical luxuriance curiously blended with reminiscences of Japan, the present Lord de Saumarez having embellished his residence in the Seigneurie by the erection of a complete house he had brought from Japan, and also a Shinto temple, which contained some very beautiful carvings.

The next day the Attorney-General for Jersey, who is a resident during the holiday season in Sark, came over and the yacht disembarked us at the curious little Port de Creux on the east side of the island, which is almost filled by one steamer, and approached on the land side by a tunnel through the cliff.

My impression of Sark and of its people could not have been more favourable. Such political rights as the inhabitants of the island enjoy depend upon a Charter of Queen Elizabeth, Letters Patent of James I, and Orders in Council of Charles II!

July 17th.—Last night we went to the State Ball, but were not there more than an hour, as we went on to Mrs. Pitt-Rivers's small dance, where I had a very pleasant supper with Mrs. H. Forster, in whom is preserved the best traditions of English womanhood. I do not know anyone who gives me a surer conviction of perfect balance and clear-sightedness, or clothes what she has to say in more musical tones.

July 22nd.—I attended the investiture at Buckingham Palace to receive the insignia of the Second Class of the Victorian Order,

which I did at least in good company, as I was between Freddy Stopford and Douglas Haig, both distinguished soldiers. I then went on to the luncheon at the Guildhall in honour of the Fleet. The seating was not well arranged, as the sailor guests were not sufficiently broken up among the rest of the company. However, I had Duff, the Captain of the "Téméraire," opposite me, and Fischer, the Prime Minister of the Orange State, on my right. It was interesting to hear from the lips of a man of pure Dutch descent an impressive tribute to the loyal unanimity with which all sections of the people in South Africa were working towards one high imperial aim.

July 24th.—By the King's suggestion we had a Council to-day merely for the purpose of swearing in Mr. Merriman, the Premier of Cape Colony, to which Selborne, Jameson, Botha, and Moor were summoned, Lord Crewe taking Lord Wolverhampton's place. Of course the proceedings were very short, but before dismissing us the King very tactfully expressed the pleasure it gave him to see his Councillors from beyond the sea assembled round the Council Table. Merriman is an impressive figure, tall, nervous, and energetic, with a great command of incisive language which makes his letters and despatches very vivid: thus, at a time when Natal threatened to block the way to Union, he described that State as "a forwarding station in a Kaffir compound."

July 30th.—The Government gave a party at the Foreign Office in honour of the Delegates of the Imperial Defence Conference, among which the South Africans loomed most largely. Ex-President Steyn looked a most pathetic figure, as he has almost lost his eyesight, and can only get light by raising his eyes above the level of ordinary vision. An interesting episode in the evening was his introduction to Lord Roberts, which Lionel Earle effected. Tragically as their paths had crossed in the crises of the South African War, they had never met. The dramatic poignancy of the occasion was enhanced by the fact that the malady which has reduced Steyn to so pitiable a state owes its origin to the exertion he underwent in communicating to Cronje Lord Roberts's movement to cut him off, which issued in the carnage and capitulation of Paardeberg. He spent hours in the saddle, and the strain of fatigue with the tension of nerves due to such an ordeal, prematurely broke him down.

I left early in the lift with Sir E. Grey, and took the opportunity to thank him for his fine appreciation of Lord Salisbury in unveiling the bust placed below the Foreign Office stairs. His testimony to the large discourse and massive scope that characterised the movements of Lord Salisbury's thought must, one would think, have been prompted to some extent by a sense of the want of it in certain of his colleagues. At any rate, it was

a fine tribute to a great man from one whose own soul has elements of grandeur.

August 10*th.*—The King held a Council before going to Marienbad. Lord Wolverhampton, Althorp, Runciman, and J. Pease attended. The King seemed very much better for his holiday at Cowes, and chaffed Ministers about the prospects of a prorogation.

By the full use of all the resources with which they have equipped themselves, it seems as impossible as ever to set any definite term to the labours of Parliament, and the whole machinery of Government suffers from the lassitude engendered.

September 1*st.*—I returned to London to-day after just under three weeks' absence, spent at Rushmore, Brympton, and Ammerdown.

Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane's bodily alacrity and vigour of mind showed little diminution under the weight of eighty-five years. A summer sun, in the short intervals vouchsafed to us, gave a peculiar lustre to the beauty of Brympton. Sir Spencer had, among other interesting reminiscences, some remarkable things to say about the crisis of the King's illness in 1902, when, according to him, it was Laking's insistence, in spite of strong opposition, that led to the case being remitted to the surgeons, with the result of saving His Majesty's life.

From Brympton I went to Ammerdown by motor with Lady Hylton, who had been at Montacute for a night. It was a lovely drive through the vale country that stretches to the foot of the Mendips and then up the steeps by Shepton Mallet and Downside in a sunset which flooded the country with glory. The garden at Ammerdown was prodigal in its luxuriance of colour and growth, a maze of enchantment full of contentment and quietness.

I find the political situation very strained, with a singular hesitation on either side to dogmatise upon the next move or speculate on its consequences. Things seem drifting to a crisis owing to the absence of any conscious effort on the part of the Moderates to come to an understanding. On the other hand, violence in and out of the Cabinet proceeds unchecked, and the uncertainty of the Prime Minister's command over his own powers paralyses an influence which ought to be supreme. It is the opinion of those best qualified to judge that Asquith's control of the Cabinet is less than Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman used to exercise. His disposition tends to make a quiet life the one desideratum, and the occasional resumption of authority does not make up for the laxity of normal rule.

I dined with Freddy Lambton and Claude Hay, and from different points of view their testimony concurred upon the evidence of the Prime Minister's laxity. Frank Mildmay, who was at the same table, confirmed the opinion of the others. With a

chief subject to periods of occultation, it is unnecessary to seek far for the source of the licence enjoyed by some of his colleagues.

September 8th.—The Cabinet to-day had under consideration the steps to be taken in the event of the Lords rejecting or hanging up the Finance Bill. It appears to be accepted as sound constitutional doctrine that a resolution of the House of Commons is sufficient authority for the levy of taxes until a prorogation or the end of the financial year, whichever may be the earlier date. In accordance with this assumption a Memo. was furnished by the Treasury indicating the three courses open to the Government. In the result the third alternative of an adjournment for a few weeks and the subsequent resumption of the Session so as to complete the temporary financial arrangements of the year by Christmas, was recommended as presenting the least difficulty and inconvenience.

After a somewhat prolonged discussion, in which very strong objection was manifested to the desire of Winston Churchill and Lloyd George to precipitate action by a violent onslaught on the House of Lords, it was decided to await Lord Rosebery's speech. I understand that in the event of that speech proving, as is expected, hostile to the Government, the prevalent feeling in the Cabinet is in favour of opening negotiations with Mr. Balfour, in the hope of arranging the terms of an accommodation, under which a truncated Budget might receive the sanction of Parliament within the next few weeks. This would probably entail the sacrifice of the undeveloped land tax, and possibly some further modification of the death duties. By this means it is thought that the designs of extremists on both sides may be baffled and an arrangement reached by which some measure of permanence might be secured to the least obnoxious principles embodied in the Budget.

September 11th.—Asquith has circulated a Memo. from the pen of a high constitutional authority, which internal evidence identifies as Ilbert, traversing the Treasury's views and declaring that nothing more would be necessary, upon the disappearance of the Finance Bill, than a short Act validating the collection of all the duties provided for by Resolutions of the House of Commons until the end of the financial year or some earlier date, within which a General Election could take place. By these means the Government, if they were victorious at the polls, would start off from their present point of vantage ; whereas the Opposition, if they came into office, would be confronted with the prospect of a huge deficit, which their first Budget would have to meet. The alternatives thus presented will be considered next Wednesday. Meanwhile, Lord Rosebery's great effort at Glasgow seems to have left things precisely as they were. His attack was opened on a wide front, and much of his argument

was purely alarmist; but if the speaker had concentrated his powerful invective upon the real blots in the Budget, and reinforced his objections with the brilliant resources at his command, there were elements in the Cabinet which would have been encouraged to rally to his support.

September 14th.—The Cabinet to-day came to no decision on the crucial question. I had a talk with Belper at luncheon and found him altogether disinclined to extreme courses. His position in the party gives him no great weight, but there must be many whose views, if not warped by the strength of feeling around them, are likely to coincide with his. He appreciated the point that supreme prudence was required of the House of Lords at the present juncture, and that nothing should be done to give the Government the least handle of offence before the appeal to the country, which I assured him was imminent.

No great difficulty is likely to arise over the Housing Bill or the Irish Land Bill. In the case of the former J. Burns is very anxious to place it to his credit, and his colleagues are quite ready to trade upon the circumstance in order to compel his acceptance of the bulk of the Lords' amendments. Similarly, Birrell is so convinced of the necessity of passing the financial part of his Bill, that he will sacrifice all the popular padding to that end.

October 6th.—Again in London, after rather more than a fortnight in Yorkshire, principally at Duncombe Park. The position is not much changed, though an accentuation of feeling on the part of the Tory Peers points to difficulty with the Budget. So far as I can gauge the intentions of the Government, it is decided in any case to dissolve in January, but they will not forgo the opportunity of associating the question of the House of Lords with that of their financial proposals if the Peers give them the chance by defeating the Budget. It is not, I believe, the wish of the Cabinet at large to go to the country with a tearing campaign against the Lords, and the rejection of the Finance Bill would have no other effect than to play into the hands of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, who are doubtful whether without it they could secure a decisive majority at the polls.

October 6th–10th.—I spent these days with Cecily Butler at Mitcham. Mrs. Godfrey Foljambe, a particularly nice woman, well read and with a cultivated understanding, was also there.

Far too great importance is attached in the Press to Asquith's visit to Balmoral and the adjournment of the House of Commons over next week. The first was settled some days ago, and cannot have any practical effect beyond an understanding upon the date of the dissolution.

October 11th.—The visit of Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour to the King gave His Majesty an opportunity of placing the intentions of the Prime Minister before the leaders of the Oppo-

sition, and of exercising such moderating influence upon their counsels as they may be disposed to listen to. There is a distinct clearing of the political atmosphere, but the vehemence of the Tariff Reform journals shows no abatement.

Frank Farquhar went over to Paris for the funeral of the French military aviators: on the procession being marshalled, there was a cry, "Le représentant du roi Édouard, en avant!" and he was placed immediately behind the representative of the French nation and in front of a huge German colonel. Haldane told my wife, who was staying with him last Sunday in Scotland, that M. Pichon, in acknowledging the courtesy of the British Foreign Office, referred to "ce colonel d'une politesse si spirituelle," which somewhat surprised him, as such a quality was not, so far as he knew, common in the British Army.

October 14*th*.—Lord Lansdowne's speech last night on the vexed question of compulsion in connection with Irish land purchase, enormously enhanced his reputation. Lord Morley described it as "a fine piece of parliamentary fence, and the most dexterous manipulation of a difficult situation he had ever known." From Lord Lansdowne's point of view it was, I understand, interesting as a trial of his influence with the Tory Peers: the result was eminently satisfactory, as only two English Peers went into the lobby with the Irish rump. Clonbrock, who was very disappointed at the numerical weakness of the irreconcilables, agreed it was largely due to Mayo's truculent vehemence. The general impression is that the Bill is now safe.

I tripped up "The Times" to-day, which, in writing about the accommodation over the Franchise Bill in 1884, attributed to the Duke of Buccleuch the action which, at the suggestion of the Queen, led to the arrangement. Of course it was the Duke of Richmond, to whom Charles Peel, who was at Balmoral, took a missive from Her Majesty. I pointed this out to Buckle, and had a very handsome acknowledgment of the error.

October 28*th*.—Fortescue, whom I saw at the Travellers', thinks the Peers will reject the Budget, though he himself deprecates such a course and shares my apprehensions of what may follow. We both trusted that the issue of the Bermondsey election, which will no doubt be a victory for the Opposition, will not be of such a character as to stimulate the plea for extreme measures.

I went down to the House of Commons this evening, at Herbert Samuel's request, to help him over a point that has arisen in connection with the report of the Committee on the Stage Censorship, of which he is chairman. It appears the censorship is to be maintained for the protection of those who desire to make use of it, but without any veto, and it was at first proposed to give the Director of Criminal Prosecutions the power of prose-

cuting the producer of any unlicensed play before a Judge of the High Court. To this the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General objected, and a Committee of the Privy Council has been suggested instead. Samuel was anxious to know, before submitting the proposal to the Committee, how it would work in practice, and I was able to satisfy him that it forms an adequate basis for the solution of the difficulty. No question of the infliction of pecuniary penalties need arise, as the loss to a theatrical manager from the discontinuance of a piece which had once been produced would be a heavy enough fine, and the power of the Committee need not extend further than an order for the performance to cease, and, if need be, an endorsement of the licence attached to the theatre. If a Stage Committee of the Privy Council was set up by Order in Council with a panel of some twelve to fifteen members, a very competent tribunal of three to five could always be obtained, and a useful mode of drawing upon the dormant capacity of the Council confirmed.

November 16*th.*—This afternoon Lord Lansdowne gave notice of the fateful amendment which is to destroy the Finance Bill. I sat next him at luncheon at the Travellers' and thought him nervous and ill at ease: further, from some remarks he let fall about the Irish Land Bill and the Housing Bill, I could not fail to gather that he entertained grave misgivings upon the course he was about to take. There can be no doubt, in fact, that it has been forced upon him by the clamour of the Unionist press and the apprehensions of Tariff Reformers. He has not had a free choice in the matter; Whig scruples have been ruthlessly sacrificed to Tory passion and the petulance of wire-pulling demagogy. By this decision the House of Lords deliberately elects to plunge the country into a period of financial uncertainty and confusion, which cannot be traversed without a serious augmentation of public burdens, on the slender chances of the Unionist Party being returned to power saddled with the most stupendous deficit of modern times, while at the same time they play into the hands of the extreme section of their opponents and give them the rallying cry of which they stand so urgently in need. The teaching of history hardly wanted this fresh demonstration that the folly of reactionaries is the strength of revolutions.

I heard from Belper that Lord St. Aldwyn, though strongly dissenting from the wisdom of Lord Lansdowne's motion, will refuse to take any part in the debate. On the other hand, both Lord Balfour and Lord Cromer would have the courage to speak against the amendment.

November 18*th.*—I had a visit this morning from Syed Ameer Ali, the Mohammedan lawyer who is to be sworn a Privy Councillor next Monday. It had first been proposed that he should

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make affirmation, which would have involved the separate reading of both forms; but, finding he was quite ready to be sworn on the Koran and could bring one of handy size, I selected that procedure. We shall have a Jew in the person of Sir E. Speyer, who will be sworn on the Pentateuch, so that there will be another display of the varieties of religious belief.

Haldane had been employed by his colleagues to obtain the King's consent to Ameer Ali's becoming a member of the Privy Council, with a view to his subsequent appointment to the Judicial Committee, and had to use some tact in overcoming His Majesty's scruples.

Lord Morley has very properly consented to be present at the Council to mark the significance of the step which includes a follower of Mohammed in the body that grew out of the *Curia Regis* of crusading Kings.

November 21st.—We dined with the Carews, a party of twenty-eight, to meet Paderewski and his wife, who had fixed the day for themselves. With regal presumption they kept the whole company waiting nearly half an hour. Paderewski himself is striking in appearance and had much that was interesting to say on some modern musical developments, or shall we say aberrations? As "un vieux classique" Debussy and his school are abhorrent to him, but his criticism of that master showed a vivid grasp of his method, with his self-conscious elaboration of the effects rather than the motive of musical inspiration. I talked to the new Danish Minister after the ladies left; a very well-mannered and accomplished conversationalist of rich and varied experience in his profession.

November 22nd.—At the Council to-day things went very well owing to the careful way in which Sir E. eymour had studied his part, the rest taking up their cues with punctuality. Lord Suffield began to repeat certain of the formulæ used, and the initiates very naturally took up the cry, till it sounded as if we were rehearsing a litany: the King beckoned Althorp and told him to make "Uncle Charles" hold his tongue.

The descendant of Mohammed, in the full light of the Council-chamber, displayed a deportment which was all that could be desired, and he brought with him a book purporting to be the Koran. Sir E. Speyer, a most characteristic little Jew, was apparently quite ready to take the oath on the Testament, so long as he could do it with the rest; but I kept him to his Pentateuch and thus saved the Gospels from outrage.

November 24th.—I went to the Lords Debate yesterday and listened to Lord Cromer, or rather, tried to hear what he was saying. Lord St. Aldwyn was conspicuously absent, and Mowatt, by whom I was standing, said he had recently been described as a man "with the carriage of a *condottiere* and the nerve of a nursery

governess." I think, however, he was the honourable dupe of an overstrained sense of loyalty.

In the evening I dined with the Ardilauns, to meet twenty-one Peers, Lady Ardilaun, Evelyn Cecil, and myself bringing the party up to twenty-four. The Irish element was preponderant, but the Duke of Wellington, Lord Normanby, Lord Ferrers, Middleton, Onslow, Leigh, and Newton supplied an English contingent. I sat between Templemore and Bandon, a very nice fellow, whom Grey de Ruthyn, in introducing me, described as the best woodcock shot in Ireland.

It struck me as strange how little any of them seemed to realise the gravity of the step to which they had all pledged themselves; no misgiving, no hesitation, no reluctance disturbed the levity with which they were preparing to repudiate what has been held for 150 years to be a fundamental axiom of constitutional practice.

Lord Rosebery's speech to-day was an unpleasant surprise to the Tory Party, and in leaving the House I heard denunciation of it from many quarters. Of course, he seemed to accentuate what they thought his inconsistency by the vigour with which, on one hand, he decried the Budget and on the other deprecated Lord Lansdowne's motion; but, to a mind whose acuteness was not obscured by party passion, the mental attitude in each part of his grave argument was dictated by cognate considerations towards a coherent end. How anybody who knew Lord Rosebery, or had given the least study to his political movements during the last ten years, could have expected him to take any other course, I do not understand; and yet there were some who, after his Glasgow speech, flattered themselves that he could be induced to move the rejection of the Finance Bill! Lord Rosebery has vision, a gift odious to the mere politician.

November 25th.—Lord Balfour of Burleigh made a striking speech to-day, in the same sense as Lord Rosebery's, with a display of conviction and sincerity which was very impressive; speaking, too, as a Tory to Tory Peers, he was particularly direct, and, laying aside all passion or rhetoric, lifted the debate to a high level. I could not help regretting that the late Duke of Devonshire was not there to throw the weight of his œcumenical authority on to the same scale. Among the other Peers who have so far made the greatest mark, Revelstoke and Lord Russell stand pre-eminent, with Ribblesdale and Newton not far behind. Revelstoke's speech perhaps deserves the highest praise, as it was a maiden effort, and by universal consent an extremely effective contribution to the debate. The Lord Chancellor was not particularly happy, but Pentland and Carrington were both above their form. Some surprise was expressed at Crewe not having made his speech in moving the second reading. I think he had two

good motives; one that he saw no reason to depart from the practice which treated debates in the House of Lords on a Finance Bill as purely formal, and secondly, that he had no desire to gratify those who treated the occasion in a partisan spirit.

November 30th.—The Archbishop of York opened the closing day of the debate: grave, measured, and statesmanlike, his speech should have done something to dispel the bogy of Socialism which has been invoked in such terrifying accents from the Opposition benches. He was followed by Curzon in an admirable example of trained rhetoric, very effective to listen to but not so convincing when tried by the tests of cool reflection. Unfortunately, I could not hear it to the end, as we were dining with Hubert Jerningham for a play and supper afterwards at the Carlton. The Princesse de Brancovard, *née* Musurus, was the fourth, who is interesting as the mother of Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles, the burning poetess of that *délire de l'été* which found such vivid expression in "Les Éblouissements."

December 2nd.—Sandringham for the Prorogation Council. Carrington was to have come, but illness prevented him, so Crewe took his place, which was a more satisfactory arrangement, in view of the difficulty the Lord President has of recalling things with precision at a moment when communications between the King and his Ministers are necessarily of a very intimate order. As, moreover, the Proclamation for the Union of the South African Colonies was to be submitted for His Majesty's signature, the presence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies was particularly appropriate.

Luncheon followed immediately upon the Council, and was pleasant enough. Rather to my surprise, the King told me to come to his table and placed me next Lady Wolverton, who was on his right hand. The Lord President was between the Queen and Princess Victoria, while Crewe, Lady Ripon, Soveral, and Lady Salisbury were at the same table.

I had some conversation with Knollys after lunchcon, who stated very gravely and emphatically that he thought the Lords mad: from which I gather that the expression of the King's regret in the Speech to be delivered to-morrow is something more than a mere official tribute to the needs of the occasion.

We had twenty minutes before leaving to pay a visit to the garden under Sir D. Probyn's guidance, and looked into a few of the houses. There was one unique display of colour in a house some hundred yards long, entirely filled with pink begonias, walls and trailing pendentives one blaze of blossom *à perte de vue.*

We returned just in time to say farewell. The Lord President had made some muddle in acquainting the King with the Government's wishes for the date of the dissolution, which I was able to put right, His Majesty being glad to hear that it was not

wanted before Saturday, January 8th, when he would be in London.

I had some talk with Crewe on the way up, which led me to realise that he at least has no sanguine expectation of their being able for a long time to impose any effective curb upon the action of the House of Lords; nor did he seem to regard the prospects of the General Election with any particular confidence. It is possible he may think there is more to fear than to gain from the violence of some of his colleagues. Both he and Lord Wolverhampton hoped Harcourt might go to the Home Office on Herbert Gladstone's vacating it. Larger reconstructions will no doubt follow a successful appeal to the constituencies, which must, I apprehend, include the retirement of the Lord President from public life.

December 11th.—At dinner last night with Lady Tweeddale I met Percival Hughes, the Conservative agent, who professed to have the most encouraging reports from all quarters; but, as these reports are no doubt based upon the estimates of enthusiastic local politicians, little reliance is to be placed upon them. On the other hand, there are members of the Cabinet who inspire one with no great belief in their own confidence.

December 14th.—I saw Hopwood this morning, whose views upon the election have undergone some change. He now appears to think that the unknown quantity of quiet politicians with Conservative instincts, who resent a disturbance of settled practice, will hold the Government responsible for what has occurred and will display their resentment at the polls.

We had some talk about the personal idiosyncrasies of Ministers and the disposition to shirk trouble most of them display. With the exception of Haldane and Crewe, and perhaps Lord Morley and the Chancellor, there is not a hard worker among them, and their disinclination to read Cabinet papers, an incurable malady, has resulted in a departmental independence not far from ministerial anarchy. He told me that his practice at the Board of Trade, when he found Lloyd George would not read anything, was to put before him in a personal interview the salient points of the case, which he absorbed with a quickness and power of assimilation wholly remarkable. At the Treasury the practice has always been to enlighten Ministers by written minutes, and from this practice there has been no departure, so that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had very little assistance from the permanent Heads of the Office, Chalmers of the Inland Revenue and his own private secretary having been his only official support. Of Crewe he had nothing to say but in the highest praise; his power of work and readiness to listen to and weigh all the evidence in a case contributed to make his judgments of permanent value in the evolution of colonial govern-

ment. His prudence and tact in Council are no less remarkable: Lord Morley thinks his influence in the Cabinet of the highest value; John Burns attributes to his address the compromise which saved the Town Planning Bill, an opinion which is supported by what Lord Lansdowne himself told me.

It was rather curious, that after writing these remarks about Lord Crewe, I should have taken his daughter, Lady Cynthia Colville, in to dinner at the Stephensons', where we had a very pleasant little party, including the Clanwilliams and Julia Lady Tweeddale.

December 15th.—A large dinner at the Enfields', at which the new Miss Colebrooke appeared.

December 20th.—Last night there was a dinner of eighteen at the Charles Lawrences': the Rennell Rodds, George Murrays, Maguires, Hopes, Lady Agnew, Mrs. Algy Grosvenor, and others. Afterwards a young Frenchwoman sang most charmingly. Without book or accompanist, she succeeded in identifying herself with the subject-matter of her song and produced the effect of the purest musical inspiration. It was like the inner trembling of a sonorous body subject to the inroads of some passionate feeling, not altogether its own, but awakening in it a subtle response to its slightest vibration.

It is a pity that the Prime Minister is not strong enough to resist the pressure of intrigue from different quarters to manipulate the date of the first elections in the supposed interests of the Government. In the result, after a great deal of vacillation, I cannot obtain final instructions upon the date of the dissolution. Considering the interests at stake, it hardly shows much confidence in the judgment of the electorate that such considerations should be accorded the least importance, for no great issues were ever at the mercy of meticulous party surmises. The resignation of my friend and colleague, Sir Edward Hope, is a great loss to the legal side of the Office, and deprives me of companionship I greatly value. With an acute and eminently just mind, he had a gentleness of spirit which within the wide range of its exercise became a guiding and persuasive force.

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January 4th.—I returned to London yesterday after ten days (December 23rd–January 1st) at Rushmore and two nights at Ammerdown. So far as the feeling of those I met affords any reliable evidence, no great displacement of political power is anticipated in either Wilts, Dorset, or Somerset. I am told here that Hudson believes he has stronger grounds for confidence than a few weeks ago, and some Liberals talk freely of the Government retaining a majority of 200. I see no reason to change my own

opinion that the balance in their favour will not be less than 30 or more than 80. I am reminded of this forecast by the circumstance that when I made it Percy, whose funeral service I attended this morning, was present and gave it his confirmation, though he made the figures slightly less favourable to the Government: viz. 20–50. Percy's deplorable death is a grave loss to the country he served so well and the party with which he was connected. He was one of the few conspicuous figures who brought character into politics and so fortified great abilities. It is a question whether his fastidious integrity would not before long have revolted against the conditions of parliamentary life; there were signs with him of a growing distaste for the harness a politician is obliged to wear, and his refined and cultivated mind was open to the attraction of so much to which politics are alien that nothing but a strong sense of public duty kept him faithful to political obligations. You might be certain, if you got his opinion, that it was the result of independent thought, and no one was more ready to approach the problems of life with courage and detachment. He was an honour to his order and dignified everything he touched with the quiet confidence of an exceptional and highly gifted personality.

January 7th.—At Douglas Dawson's request I attended a conference at the Lord Chamberlain's Office, to which Sir Charles Matthews, the Director of Criminal Investigations, and Byrne of the Home Office were also invited, to discuss the Report of the Joint Committee on the Stage Censorship. In view, however, of the lukewarm reception accorded to the report, and the formidable difficulties raised by Sir C. Matthews, it did not appear to us that any useful purpose would be served by initiating legislation on the lines suggested.

January 10th.—At the Council for the Dissolution I secured the attendance of two Cabinet Ministers (Crewe and Pentland) besides the Lord President and Althorp. Walter Hutchinson attended to take the oath on his appointment as a Privy Councillor. Lord Wolverhampton seemed oppressed with the belief that this might be his last attendance, and Althorp added to the prevailing gloom by dilating on the pathos attending the obsequies of a Parliament.

January 19th.—The borough elections are well-nigh over, with the result of a drawn battle. The great towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where Free Trade is still an article of faith and the Irish vote an important factor, have declared for the Government, whereas the Midlands, London to a lesser degree, and the minor towns, have adhered to the Opposition. I met Pentland this morning, who said many of his political friends were bitterly disappointed, but for his part he was satisfied so far. At my suggestion that the Government were likely to lose heavily in the

Home Counties, he expressed surprise and asked if I really thought so, as that was not the anticipation of their election agents.

January 21*st.*—I saw Douglas Dawson this morning, who told me he had submitted a Memo. of our conference on the Stage Censorship to the King, who had followed the discussion with great interest, and sent the papers back with a note in his own hand that matters seemed likely to remain *in statu quo.*

My forecast of the election results in the Home Counties is amply justified. The Government, in their efforts to tax the rich, never seem to have realised the risk they ran of exciting the fears of the small property-owners, which in this part of England constitute a very large class, and are far more sensitive to the cry of confiscation than those who enjoy a larger margin.

January 22*nd.*—Byrne, of the Home Office, came to see me this morning from Herbert Gladstone, to ask for our aid in arbitrating between him and the Duke of Norfolk in reference to the recommendations of the Baronetage Committee. It appears that the Royal Warrant giving effect to them has been hung up owing to the sturdy resistance of the Earl Marshal on behalf of the College of Arms. That resistance was finally concentrated upon the point whether the Home Office, as recommended by the Committee, should have the custody of the roll of Baronets, or whether it should be kept by the College of Arms, which the Duke claimed as part of the indefeasible right of the Earl Marshal. The King professed himself ready to sign the warrant, but, as a matter of courtesy, first gave a hearing to the Duke, Herbert Gladstone being also present. It became an oral tournament on the steps of the throne ; the Duke flung himself into the fray with characteristic earnestness, and floored the Home Secretary by producing quite unexpectedly a letter from Pembroke, who was chairman of the Committee, withdrawing on his own part and that of his colleagues the particular recommendation to which the Duke objected. The King thereupon wanted something more than Gladstone's support, so the expedient is suggested of an informal committee of three Privy Councillors to determine the point and advise the King thereon. A strong Scotsman would be required on the Committee, for which I suggested Dunedin, and meanwhile secured the services of Lord St. Aldwyn, who represents an old Baronetcy, and Sir John Kennaway.

January 28*th.*—The elections have pursued the expected course : with some notable exceptions the roll of Tory victories in the English counties has been swelled from day to day. I met Buckle this afternoon, who stopped to ask me what I thought of the situation. It depended now, I said, very largely on whether the Government decided to pursue a policy of conciliation or exasperation, and there were influences at work in the latter direction. He was very loth to believe that the results of the

appeal to the country had not profoundly affected the relations of the Government with Parliament.

The Duke of Norfolk came to see me, very angry with his treatment by the Home Office, and inclined to complain of the way in which he had been ignored by Gladstone. I could only suggest that it was not too late to lay anything that he had to say before the Committee.

January 29th.—Dinner at the Fevershams' last night, to celebrate his eighty-first birthday. Lord Abergavenny, who is eighty-three, proposed his health.

I have now had the opportunity of reading the papers in which the Home Office have presented the case between them and the Earl Marshal. His argument is fully set forth in his own letter and memoranda, yet there is little substance in it beyond the sensitiveness of the College of Arms and an uncompromising assertion of the indefeasible rights of a great feudal office.

January 31st.—The Committee of Council on the Baronetage Question met to-day. After hearing the Duke of Norfolk, Lord St. Aldwyn proposed a compromise on one point, providing for a report from the Heralds' College and Lyon and Ulster on every claim to a succession, but told the Duke plainly that they were not with him in his challenge of the competence of the warrant, as the matter in question lay plainly within the Royal direction. Dunedin proved a very useful member of the Committee, which adjourned till Friday to give me time to put the terms of the arrangement into proper order and prepare the report.

It was clear that the methods of the Home Office had been open to criticism; their slackness in giving the Duke an answer to his first objection, which was delayed for two years and a half, being the real cause of the stiff line he afterwards took. It is not his way to be unreasonable.

February 2nd.—I saw Beauchamp, who appeared to think the only security for the Government was to strike hard against the House of Lords. No such opportunity would occur again, and it was due to their followers, and their own declaration, to make the most of it. He anticipated many changes within the Cabinet, but had had no intimation of anything affecting himself. Aberdeen he thought would stay in Ireland, which, if Lord Wolverhampton goes, may open the Lord Presidency to his ambition. Meanwhile the old Cabinet had been summoned to meet on Thursday the 10th.

February 4th.—The Committee of the Privy Council met again and settled the terms of their Report to the King, deciding with some regret against the Earl Marshal on his plea for retaining the requirement of coat armour for Baronets. The Duke, who was not present, put in a final protest against the way he had been treated by the Home Office, on which Lord St. Aldwyn commented

sympathetically and there left it. Asquith, he said, would have settled in a quarter of an hour what it had taken Herbert Gladstone nearly three years to dally with.

We dined last night at the Ulric Thynnes, where we met Lady Verulam, Lady Beatrice Thynne, and Freddy Wallop.

February 7th.—I had a letter from Knollys expressing the King's entire approval of the Report of the Committee, and asking me to convey His Majesty's thanks to the members for being good enough to advise him in the matter.

February 10th.—Ministers are returning to London for the Cabinet, which meets to-morrow and next day, and there is a hope that Asquith may settle matters with the King on Saturday. Discussing the elections this afternoon with a Cabinet Minister and the causes which had determined their issue, I remarked that, if we came to a critical examination of lying, the honours were fairly even. "Yes," he said, "but on a display of bad manners we are easily first."

The King's liking for Harcourt is said to have suffered under the strain of some of his election speeches, the substance of which has been reported to him; this, and his well-known "little Navy" views, may affect prejudicially the chance of succeeding Herbert Gladstone.

February 11th.—Redmond's declaration, which is reported this morning, that he could not support the Government unless he had the guarantees necessary for an effective campaign against the Lords, has produced a great sensation, and the announcement has had a sensible effect upon the views of the Liberal Press. Its influence upon the deliberations of this day's Cabinet was most marked. It appears that Redmond had given Asquith written notice of his intention, so that the Prime Minister was not unprepared. There is a section of the Cabinet, of which the Lord Chancellor is a prominent figure, strongly opposed to any transaction with Redmond. They advocate independence and are willing to leave him to do his worst. One of them told me yesterday that he considered the Government had only a majority of *two*! Nothing definite was settled beyond a resolution to proceed with the financial problem, and the Cabinet adjourned till Monday afternoon, while the Prime Minister in the interval will seek to obtain from Redmond some more clear avowal of his intentions.

February 14th.—The crisis reached its most acute point to-day. Lord Crewe, writing to the Lord President respecting the arrangements for the parliamentary dinners to their followers in the House of Lords (one of which is to be given by Beauchamp), explained their peculiar character by reference to the "uncertain position" of the Government in consequence of the "Hibernian bombshell." This is due to Redmond having intimated that the most he could do for the Government was to leave his followers

free to vote as they pleased. In these circumstances not many are likely to go into the ministerial lobby. So widespread was the feeling of depression that members of the Government were openly discussing the probability of a defeat on the Address.

February 15th.—A distinctly better tone pervaded the ministerial atmosphere; it is believed that the influence of Redmond, T. P. O'Connor, and Dillon will be sufficient to keep the requisite number of their followers in leading-strings as so to ensure the passing of the Budget. After all, as Buckle, whom I saw this afternoon, said, they have the strongest reason to keep the Government in office at least for a time. Ministers now believe that they have assurances which will enable them to indicate the financial measures they propose for the ensuing year and develop their line of attack upon the House of Lords. Another election, however, is looked for in June, or at latest in October.

McKenna has written to a correspondent who plied him with questions on the statements of Charles Beresford about the guns of the "Invincible," which he declared excluded the ship from the fighting line. McKenna, without apparently troubling himself to obtain correct information, stated that nothing interfered with their working. As a matter of fact, the ship is an experiment in the way of substituting electrical for hydraulic gear, which has proved a complete failure, and the guns can only be worked by hand, which, as everyone knows, is impracticable in action.

February 19th.—Council at Buckingham Palace for the confirmation of the changes in the Cabinet and the approval of the Speech. On my arrival Knollys mentioned that the King was anxious about the phrasing of the reference to the House of Lords, as he thought, the Speech having to be delivered in that Chamber, he should call it "this house" rather than "the other house." As soon as the King was ready, he saw Winston Churchill and the Lord President on the point, and the first-named was sent off post-haste to the Prime Minister to obtain his acquiescence. In these circumstances the time had to be spun out, and, besides giving Herbert Gladstone and Samuel longer audiences for the delivery of their seals, His Majesty altered the order of procedure by taking the introduction of Pease to the Chancellorship of the Duchy before the Council. When that was over, he kept me in conversation for some minutes, and I took the opportunity of obtaining sanction to a change in the arrangement under the Oaths Act, whereby, seeing that the status of the Board of Trade and Local Government Board had been raised, the Heads of these Offices should in future be sworn in His Majesty's presence, to which end I was authorised to submit an Order at the next Council. I also told His Majesty we should submit at the same time an Order establishing a Committee of Council for the purposes of

the Baronet's Warrant, in which he seems to take a great interest, talking vivaciously about the difficulty with the Duke of Norfolk, whose tenacity in defending his position was, he thought, out of proportion to a very small encroachment.

Our conversation was hardly finished when Winston Churchill returned with the Prime Minister's consent to the alteration in the Speech, which the King quite rightly held could not properly have been made after his formal approval.

Winston's attitude throughout was carefully studied. He bore himself deliberately as if the reversion of the Premiership was within his grasp, ignoring the impatience of the Lord President at his own obvious supersession and assuming with no little success an air of dignity and command.

February 21st.—I saw Cawdor this morning, who admired the ingenuity of the King's Speech and agreed that it was at least inoffensive in form. He spoke with much animation about McKenna's letter on the guns of the "Invincible," which he described as a palpable misrepresentation, the more extraordinary as every naval officer knew the real state of the case, and he must be convicted of the most reckless indifference to facts. He was very glad to hear that the prospective increase of the Navy Estimates would probably reach £5,500,000.

The debate in the Lords was remarkable for a speech of Lord Lansdowne's which must enhance his reputation as the best parliamentarian of the day. For an hour he kept the House in a state of tension while he exposed in incisive, and often scathing sentences, the weakness of the Government position. He called special attention to the change of front in the paragraph of the Speech intimating that the Constitution, as well as the powers of the House of Lords, was to be subject of legislative enactment, and reminded the House that the Prime Minister had categorically denied that such was the intention of the Government. The truth of the matter is that Winston Churchill, whose *flair* for the exigencies of the political situation is innate, has seen from the first that, unless the Opposition were to be left in possession of the field, a reform of Constitution must go hand in hand with a restriction of power, and to that end insisted upon a modification of the original draft, so as to include a reformed as well as a crippled second Chamber. The only point wherein Lord Lansdowne's instinct failed him was in not announcing his wish to take up this part of the question—an oversight which led to Lord Rosebery's declaration that now was the accepted time.

At Mrs. Meyer Sassoon's ball I saw Malmesbury and George Murray, who had heard Redmond in the Commons. The first-named naturally attached greater importance to the menacing tone of his speech.

February 22nd.—The tide of ministerial apprehension has

again risen. The Lord Chancellor said this morning that they might be out in a few days, and the general feeling is that, while Redmond is personally anxious to do his best for them, he is not master in his own house and may give them a heavy fall at any minute. The Cabinet was hastily called at 4 p.m. to consider the further developments of the situation.

February 26th.—The crisis promises to become chronic, no section of either party being anxious to strike the blow which will make it definitive. Meanwhile the Cabinet met again to-day "in the deepest gloom," according to information from a thoroughly reliable source. The efforts to clarify the situation are directed to some modification of the ministerial programme, which, while keeping the Cabinet together, will minimise the hostility created by their official announcements; but their miscalculation of the effects that these were likely to produce has already engendered so much distrust that no restatement of policy will have any marked influence on the course of events. Ministers will probably survive the outbreak of Radical discontent upon the demand for the whole time of the House till Easter, as, in view of the critical financial outlook, the regular Opposition can hardly refuse the Government the opportunities they ask.

The section of the Cabinet which has been throughout opposed to any transaction with the Irish Party is becoming more restive under the ignominy of the present position; the hope of the more violent lies in the inertia of the Prime Minister, whose temperamental defects incline him to the easiest present course without concern for its consequences.

March 4th.—As the Lord President's dinner has been abandoned, I had to summon a meeting of the Privy Council to settle the Roll of Sheriffs. Lord Crewe presided, and Beauchamp, Lloyd George, Sydney Buxton, and Harcourt attended. Lloyd George came in high good-humour straight from the House of Commons, where he had been indulging his talent for vituperation in a pure spirit of pleasantry.

A story is told illustrative of Lloyd George's almost defiant *camaraderie*. During dinner at Buckingham Palace the other day, he addressed the Duke of Norfolk, who was sitting on the King's right, from some distance down the table in a loud voice, congratulating him on the way he managed the Brixton meeting, which, it will be remembered, was remarkable for some uproarious proceedings in the course of the General Election. Naturally the Duke was a little surprised at being accosted in such a way at the moment, but smilingly passed it off. Lloyd George came up to him later, and with an air of franchise, "Ah!" he said, "you Dukes, you get the better of me!"

March 10th.—A very pleasant dinner at the Duckworths' last night, at which we met Miss Balfour, St. Cyres, and Lady Elizabeth

Northcote, the Hyltons, S. H. Butcher, Sir Brooke Boothby, and Miss Morrison.

A great deal of comment has been excited by the decision of the Government to take a vote on account for no longer than six weeks. The Opposition have detected in this a deliberate design on their part to place their successors in a position of inextricable difficulty, if, as they are credited with an intention of doing, they resign office in the middle of May. My explanation of their conduct is much simpler: they hold office merely at the good-will of the Irish and the Labour Parties, and these two sections of the House are not prepared to trust them with funds for a period long enough to give them any feeling of independence.

March 14th.—I joined Haldane on the parade-ground and walked down with him to the House of Commons. He regards their position as very insecure; for his part, he thinks no Ministry does any good to its reputation by remaining in office through a second Parliament, and he is ready to take his dismissal as soon as it comes. As for his work at the War Office, he looks upon it as complete, and would be glad to hand the system he has created over to the Opposition, which, he believes, in combination with the County Associations, could at this stage do more to develop the territorial organisation than it is in his power to do. He spoke with great gratitude of the assistance he had received from his political foes, and regretted that it was not possible to do more State business by co-operation between the two parties.

I went to the Lords, to hear Lord Rosebery: he had an immense audience, but somehow failed, with all his earnestness and rhetorical skill, to produce an effect commensurate with the pitch to which expectation had been carried. In dealing with the situation, Harcourt blandly expresses his surprise that nineteen intelligent men should have taken so many false steps as he and his colleagues.

March 15th.—I had luncheon with the Freeman-Thomases and was much pleased to meet Lady Stradbroke, whose beauty has a very poignant charm. She talks, too, with a vivid apprehension of the things that count, in terms obviously sincere. The Hydes and George Burroughs were also there.

March 17th.—We had a dinner last night for Mrs. Lawson's dance at the Ritz. Mrs. Forster and her daughter, Desmond Fitzgerald, Alfred Farquhar, and others. Lady Helen Wilbraham was to have come, but we heard in the afternoon of her father's sudden death on board the "Caronia" off Cape St. Vincent. At Mrs. Lawson's request I took Lady Salisbury in to supper, about whom there is a great integrity of spirit and a very sincere purpose. Afterwards I took Mrs. Lowther, who talked with her usual emphasis and unreserve. She shook her head gravely over Asquith's failing influence, to which she attributed Mrs. Asquith's

departure from the country, and was confident that his credit was too gravely compromised to permit of his retaining office for more than two months at the outside !

March 18th.—After dining with the Schroeders, we went to the Speaker's house, where there was a large gathering. The party following the dinner to the Opposition leaders, was mostly composed of their adherents, and the reports in circulation of the Government difficulties created a feeling of cheerfulness and confidence which is hardly warranted by the facts. The financial deadlock is causing a sense of deep resentment in the City, where it is ascribed to sullen indifference on the part of Ministers to everything but their own *amour-propre.*

April 2nd.—Last night I went to the private view of the International Society's Exhibition at the Grafton Gallery. An astonishing medley of inarticulate efforts towards the extravagant and incoherent. The vice of affectation in every conceivable form seems to be slowly poisoning the fine flower of æsthetic tradition, and men, calling themselves artists, are careless to distinguish between the service of beauty and the pretensions of an art whose rags hardly cover its blotches.

The parliamentary situation is developing on the lines I have all along expected. Redmond's bluster has been carefully designed to conceal a real intention to keep the Government in power as long as they are willing to reap the reward of their subservience, and the paralysis of purpose that has overtaken the Unionist Party contributes to the same end.

A great deal reaches me as to the intense dissatisfaction caused in its ranks, particularly among the new members, by the present system of management, which has had the effect of bringing the control of the party machine more absolutely into hands they distrust.

April 6th.—The chairman of the Board of Customs told me that nobody outside the five or six persons primarily concerned with advising the Chancellor of the Exchequer, could have the least idea of the confusion into which he had thrown departmental practice. Hardly a day passed without some crude idea which had fermented in his fertile but parochial brain being flung to the Board for serious examination : schemes for a duty in this direction or that, taken up, put sometimes into legislative form, and then rejected as impracticable, or perhaps exchanged for something more impracticable still ; and yet the Minister's self-confidence suffers no check, but from every fresh exposure seems to draw a more daring hardihood.

The marvel is that the Cabinet should tolerate such an embarrassment to its credit, but they are suffering from the initial blunder of not having asserted their collective control at an earlier stage ; the Prime Minister, having set the example of

surrender in accepting Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer when McKenna was his own choice, has seen his authority usurped by a duumvirate which dictates his policy and traffics with his dignity ; and the Cabinet have been the passive witnesses of their usurpation and its humiliating consequences.

I dined with Murray Scott in his beautiful house in Connaught Place. Redesdale, George Murray, Pom McDonnell, Mr. Justice Darling, and two or three more. Redesdale told me that, on being shown Lady Grove's picture in her house in Bedford Square, he remarked that it hardly did her justice, upon which she said, " God Almighty having done His best, what can a poor artist do ? "

April 22nd.—The Prince of Wales held a Council to-day on behalf of the King. His Majesty's movements were so uncertain that the arrangements were made subject to being cancelled if he should return. The Lord President was well enough to come up from Bournemouth for the purpose, but, though looking well in the face, his mind works very uncertainly, and the least pressure might prove too much for him. Beauchamp, Colonel Seely, and Fleetwood Edwards completed the attendance.

April 28th.—I dined with the Royal Society of British and Colonial Artists in celebration of the recent grant of a Charter. Lord Strathcona was in the chair, and the Duke of Argyll, looking very untidy, formally presented the Charter to the Society. I sat between Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., and Professor Dunstan, the Head of the Imperial Institute. Gilbert Parker told me that the night before Mr. Balfour and Sir G. Reid were dining with him and the conversation turned on the secret of successful oratory. Sir G. Reid said it depended, in his opinion, on conviction coloured by feeling, upon which Mr. Balfour said, " That is not my case at all ; there is always present, when I am speaking, a kind of subconscious mental doubt whether I am not exaggerating and overstating my argument." Reid replied that at the Albert Hall three or four days before he had seemed to let himself go. " Ah," said A. J. B., " I was angry on that occasion."

April 29th.—The curtain fell upon the drama of the Finance Act (1909–10), the Bill being passed through all its stages yesterday by the House of Lords, and the Royal Assent being given this morning. The debate was marked by no undue effort on the part of Lord Crewe and the Lord Chancellor to rub in their victory, and Lord Lansdowne evaded his difficulties by devoting the greater part of his speech to an adroit criticism of the Government's relations with the Irish Party.

May 6th.—Last night at Lady Aberdare's dance I heard, just before midnight, from Lady Salisbury of the King's dangerous illness, and a few minutes later Tom Cochrane, who had been at the play, confirmed the news. At eleven this morning I went to Buckingham Palace and saw Arthur Davidson, who at once

admitted the gravity of the position, though he refused to say anything warranting the belief that the King's hours were already numbered. The midday bulletin was couched in very ominous language, and it was obvious that some preparations would have to be entered upon at once. Fortunately, the alarm relating to the King in 1902 had caused some things, including the draft of the Proclamation, to be undertaken, but one of the principal members of my small staff was away, with no prospect of his answering to my recall until the evening. The only thing that could be completed was the preparation of all the envelopes in which summonses to Privy Councillors had to be issued. With the 6.30 bulletin all hope of any prolongation of the King's life had to be abandoned. I had previously, in view of the last emergency, telegraphed to Lord Crewe and the Lord Chancellor, who were at Crewe and Deal respectively, warning them that they would be wanted in London, and advising Crewe that, in the absence of the Lord President, I should look to him to act on his behalf. About dinner-time Bigge telephoned to apprise me of the Prince of Wales's fears, and I settled to call at Marlborough House at ten. Here I found Bigge and Lord Carrington, and settled with the first-named the points on which I should want to be informed as soon as the King passed away. Even then, an hour before his death, the imminence of the catastrophe was not quite realised, and it seemed to be thought that he might linger till the small hours of the morning. Bigge told me that this very forenoon he had smoked half a cigar, which must have been very bad for him, and that late in the previous evening, during a momentary rally, he had said, "I am feeling better, and intend to fight this, and I shall be about again in a day." The last flicker of resolution of which his strong and courageous heart was susceptible.

END OF VOL. I

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